A HISTORY OF
EUROPE
AND THE MODERN WORLD
1492–1928

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THE GROWTH OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

The English House of Commons in 1742

A HISTORY OF
EUROPE
AND THE MODERN WORLD
1492–1928

BY

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THIS book, while it is complete and independent in itself, is a sequel to *Europe in the Middle Ages* by I. L. PLUNKET (pp. viii+ 391, with 48 pp. of illustrations and 9 maps, 4*s*. 6*d*. net), with which it is uniform.

The two books are also obtainable bound together in one volume at 8*s*. 6*d*. net.

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PREFACE

SINCE the discovery of America by Columbus it is no longer possible to write a history of Europe by itself. Politics over the whole globe have become organic; and what happens in one part intimately affects every other. The German historian, Heeren, Professor of History at Göttingen at the beginning of the nineteenth century, recognized this clearly when he wrote his *Manual of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies*; and Dr. Abbot, Professor of History at Harvard, writing in the early part of the twentieth century, takes the same point of view, calling his work *The Expansion of Europe.*

The culture of Europe, maintained and amplified throughout more than two thousand years, based on the ancient Mediterranean civilizations of the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, has become world-wide. Because of this long and fruitful tradition of civilization Europe will probably always remain the social centre of the world. Yet, because of this, it is all the more necessary for every reflective person to extend his observation beyond Europe to the great nations of America, and to the rising or risen nations of the Far East.

The present work takes the history of Europe and the modern world down to the year 1914. If the world was something of a unity from the end of the fifteenth century to 1914, it is more of a unity now, when every social or political tremor vibrates through the whole system. The World War was the most gigantic experiment in international co-operation; and it produced the society of organized peoples, the

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League of Nations. Although this society does not include all states, it is easily the most impressive fact in modern history, the grandest of all the developments of the political sense of mankind. The League of Nations, however, is no super-state ; it does not supersede the individual states in their work of national and international well-being. It is with this individual yet co-operative effort, this creative life of the peoples on the earth's surface, and especially with the achievement of the great Christian organizations, the states of Continental Europe, the British Empire, and the United States of America, that this book is concerned.

I should not like the opportunity to pass by without my acknowledging my debt to Mr. W. R. Smale, of New College and Radley, who on this and on many other occasions has generously put his time and knowledge at my disposal.

The selection of the illustrations is due to Mr. John Johnson, Printer to the University.

R. B. M.

December 1926.

NOTE

The narrative has been brought down to include the Great War and the Treaties of 1919–20. I fully realize that the great story of mankind has no starting-point and no definite conclusion. The adjustment which Europe and the Modern World have made to the conditions left by the War, the trials that have been endured, and the progress which has been achieved towards a better order in domestic and international affairs, can be recorded, I believe, with a reasonable historical perspective. This I look forward to endeavouring to do in a subsequent volume.

1929.

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A HISTORY OF
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I

THE ITALIAN WARS OF FRANCE AND THE EMPIRE

§ 1

THE spirit of adventure has never died in Europe; and it is probably due to this, as well as to the inheritance of Greek and Latin civilization, that Europe has been, for a thousand years, the political and social centre of the world. The courage and curiosity that took the questing Vikings to America in the tenth century, and Marco Polo to the border of Tibet in the thirteenth, were the same as brought to pass the Revival of Learning at the Renaissance, and the scientific discoveries of more recent times. Yet in spite of the Medieval adventurers, and in spite of the Crusades, those noble enterprises in Asia, the vision of Europe in the Middle Ages had remained bounded by the frontiers of Europe. But when Bartholomew Diaz sailed round the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 the eyes of the Europeans were turned to all the ends of the earth. The Indies, East and West, were calling. Ten years later Vasco da Gama sailed to the coasts of Madras; and in 1492 Columbus found America at the island of Hispaniola. The wind, blowing where it listed, took every great adventurer to a desired end.

> The tempest flung me seaward,
> And pinned and bade me hold
> The course I might not alter—
> And men esteemed me bold!
> The calms embayed my quarry,
> The fog-wreath sealed his eyes;
> The dawn-wind brought my top-sails—
> And men esteemed me wise.[1]

In 1497 Giovanni Cabot, authorized by letters patent from Henry VII of England, sailed from Bristol with Sebastian, his son, and discovered Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia.

[1] Kipling, *The Song of Diego Valdez.*

§ 2

Yet although King Ferdinand the Spaniard and King John the Portuguese and even Henry VII of England turned their eyes to look outward across the great oceans, it was not so with all the European monarchs. When Charles VIII of France, on the 2nd September 1494 (two years after the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent of Florence), marched his army over the grand Alpine pass, the Mont Genèvre, and descended upon the plains of Northern Italy, he provoked a struggle for the balance of power that has never since wholly ceased. For the chief States of Italy —Florence, Venice, Milan, Naples, the Papacy—had to defend themselves; and also the King of Spain, and the Emperor, the supreme lord of Germany, had to intervene, lest France should grow too great.

Charles went through Italy as a knife goes through cheese. He entered Naples in February 1495. He could not, however, hold that populous city and kingdom so far from his own country. On the way back, at Fornovo, where 'on both sides of the Taro the valley of Vergerra broadens out down towards the Po',[1] he won a victory in July 1495 against the Venetians and Milanese. Then he returned home to continue his mad pleasures and to die. France lost all her Italian gains, but the seed of European war remained.

The Italian Wars were not nearly over. The next French king, Louis XII, renewed the struggle in 1499. He conquered Milan from the Ducal family of Sforza, and the Kingdom of Naples from the House of Anjou-Aragon. But again, by 1504, Naples had been lost. In 1511 Pope Julius II formed a 'Holy League', with the Papacy, Spain, Venice, and, later, England, as members, to expel the French wholly from Italy. On Easter Day (11 April 1512) the French won a hard-fought victory at Ravenna against the Holy League; but their brilliant leader, Gaston de Foix, nephew of Louis XII, only twenty-three years old, was killed.

The battle of Ravenna, although a victory for the French,

[1] Ranke, *Latin and Teutonic Nations*, Book I, Chap. II.

only ensured for them a safe evacuation of Italy. Louis XII, at the age of fifty-two, married (as his second wife) Mary, the sister of Henry VIII of England. Queen Mary was sixteen years old.

Louis tried to live the life of a young man with her, and died of too much dancing, after three months of marriage (1 January 1515). The new king, Francis I, who was twenty years old, at once renewed the struggle, and invaded the plain of Lombardy. He was opposed by forces of the Pope, Spain, Florence, and the Swiss Confederation. It was the Switzers who met him in pitched

battle. In the twilight of the 13th September 1515 and throughout the 14th September they fought, and ten thousand of them died, on the field of Marignano: the rest retreated. 'Even in their flight the Swiss showed their heroic spirit.' [1]

> It was a marvel to see the routed Swiss return to Milan—one had lost an arm, another a leg, a third was maimed by the cannon. They carried one another tenderly and seemed like the sinners whom Dante pictures in the ninth circle of the Inferno.[2]

The battle of Marignano shattered the domination which the Swiss Confederation was at that time exercising over a large portion of Lombardy: the possession to-day of the Canton of Ticino is all that remains of it. Marignano also gave the Duchy of Milan to the French, but not for long. The Italian Wars continued. Ferdinand of Spain died in 1516 and was succeeded by his grandson Charles. In 1519 Charles was elected Emperor; and thus the resources of Germany as well as Spain could be directed to ending French dominion in Italy.

The struggle between France on the one hand and the Habsburg Emperor Charles, who was also King of Spain, on the other endured for forty years more. There were intervals of peace, but these never lasted long. On the 24th February 1525 Francis I was defeated by the army of Charles V (the Emperor himself was not present) at Pavia. Francis himself was captured, but was released next year on promising to give Burgundy to Charles. This promise Francis broke, being absolved from his oath by Pope Clement VII.

After the release of Francis, Clement had joined a Holy League (France, Venice, Florence, the Papacy) formed with the object of restoring the balance of power in Italy. This brought down upon the Pope the correction of the Emperor. In 1527 the Imperial Army, commanded by a renegade French nobleman, the Constable of Bourbon, drew near to the Holy City. The

[1] Creighton, *History of the Papacy* (1887), iv. 211.

[2] Prates, *Storia di Milano*, p. 343, quoted by Creighton, *ibid.* The reference is to Dante, *Inferno*, Canto XXVIII, in which religious schismatics and the fomenters of political and social discord are described as being terribly maimed and lacerated.

SWITZERLAND
about 1550
English Miles
0 10 20 30
Three Original Cantons, 1291-1315.
Five Cantons Added between 1315-1353.
Five Cantons Added between 1481-1513
Allied & Protected Districts 1798.
Subject Districts 1798
Shaffhausen
Constance
L. CONSTANCE
Thurgau
Rhine
Basle
BÂLE
ZURICH
Zurich
Aargau
Aar
Soleure
Zug
LUCERNE
Lucerne
SCHWYZ
Schwyz
Stanz
Unter-
Walden
GLARUS
Coire
Rhine
Berne
Neuchâtel
Doubs
Fribourg
BERNE
URI
GRISONS
Vaud
FRIBOURG
Lausanne
L. GENEVA
St Gothard Pass
Stelvio Pass
Gemmi Pass
Maloja Pass
Ticino
Maggia
Rhône
Geneva
Valais
Zermatt
Adda

Emperor, apparently, wished only to force the Pope to make peace; but the troops, lacking their pay and eager for plunder, pressed onwards. On the 6th May they broke into Rome and sacked it for eight days. The horrible deeds then done and the wanton destruction made among the works of art of that most lovely and serene city are considered to mark the end of the Italian Renaissance. But the General who could not or would not control his troops when they went to the assault of Rome was dead. Benvenuto Cellini, the splendid artist in metal-work, was on the wall of Rome with some companions taking part in the defence. As the fierce Imperial soldiery advanced to the assault, 'Would to God I had never come', cried one of his companions, and turned to flee. But Benvenuto, who tells the story, checked him saying: 'Since you have brought me here, I must play the man.'

> And aiming my arquebuse where I saw the enemy was thickest, I fired at one I saw raised above the others. . . . When we had each fired twice I crept stealthily up to the parapet, and saw an extraordinary tumult among the enemy, for one of our shots had knocked down Bourbon. And, so far as I could hear afterwards, he it was whom I had seen raised above the others.[1]

Francis I died at Rambouillet, one of the many palaces built during the French Renaissance, on the 31st March 1547. His son Henry II succeeded to him and took up the sorry tale of the Italian War. This war was a bottomless pit, draining away the resources of France, and preventing the French monarchy from doing the most needful thing, which was to strengthen the eastern frontier of France.

It was there that the weakness of France lay. The Emperor through dominating Lorraine, Alsace, and Franche-Comté approached dangerously near to Paris. In October 1551 a fateful Council was held by King Henry II. It was believed that Charles V intended to occupy with troops three episcopal cities of Lorraine, a Duchy within the Holy Roman Empire. These cities were Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The advice of the Maréchal de Vieilleville was that the French king should forestall Charles

[1] *Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini*, Book I, Chap. XXXIV.

'This policy aimed at gaining the "Natural Frontiers", and especially the Rhine'

by himself seizing those cities, and thus strengthen France's eastern frontier.

The result of this epoch-making Council was that Henry II turned his back on the 'fatal fascination' of Italy, and directed France to the policy which she has followed ever since. This policy aimed at gaining the 'natural frontiers', and especially the Rhine. On the 13th March 1552 Henry II invaded the Duchy of Lorraine. Metz, Toul, and Verdun fell to the French king's arms. Charles V hastened to redeem the losses. The siege of Metz by Charles (October 1552 to January 1553) was the greatest failure of his reign. At last the sixty years of intermittent warfare came to an end with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, between France and Spain, 3rd April 1559. Henry II abandoned to Spain the coveted Italian possessions. The question of Metz, Toul, and Verdun was reserved; it was not definitely settled in International Law until at the Peace of Westphalia the 'Three Bishoprics' were formally annexed to France. But France actually possessed them from the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. Frenchmen at the time were incensed at the treaty, considering it to involve the surrender of the Italian conquests of sixty years of war. As a matter of fact the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis diverted French foreign policy into its proper channel, that of aiming at a strong eastern boundary. Without the Vosges modern France would be helpless.

§ 3. *Machiavelli*

At the end of the fifteenth century feudalism no longer existed as a political system, although the nobility of various countries continued to use the social and legal rights of feudalism until 1789 and later. The Holy Roman Empire, which had a vague pre-eminence among the States of Europe, was only a feeble force. The Papacy had a juster claim to wield influence as an International Power, but it had lost prestige owing to the worldliness of the Renaissance Popes; and it was soon to lose more, when the Reformation came.

A new, a freer Europe was rising out of the rigid framework of the Middle Ages. Sovereignty, as Grotius said about a century

HENRY II

From a painting by Francis Clouet in the Louvre

later, was becoming territorial; that is to say, the Government in each State was growing absolute, taking upon itself the power of all its people; it was considered to own all the State territory. State, nation, territory were conterminous; the one exactly filled the other. Each State was like a powerful individual, armed to the teeth, and always on the watch lest it be pounced upon by a neighbour. In such a condition of affairs, when neither the Papacy nor the Empire could pretend to keep the European peace, a State could only preserve itself by its own strength, aided by clever policy, and by trying to keep all the other States neatly balanced against each other. The existence of each State depended upon a European balance of power.

There were several statesmen about the year 1500 who realized that the Medieval system had passed away, that a new Europe of compact Nation-States existed, and that small and weak States ran the hourly risk of being swallowed alive. A type of the modern statesman, discreet, calculating, and bold, was Henry VII of England, the saviour of a ruined nation. But Henry did not analyse his views and put them into writing. It was Machiavelli who first dissected the modern States and statesmanship and wrote it all down. Thomas Cromwell, who had passed some of his roving youth in Italy, deliberately chose Machiavelli's *Prince* as his guide, when he became chief minister of Henry VIII. The Italian philosopher may therefore be considered as one of the makers of the efficient despotism of the Tudors.

Niccolò Machiavelli was born at Florence on the 3rd May 1469, being the son of a prosperous Florentine lawyer. The Republic of Florence was a State about 150 miles long and 100 broad, situated mainly on the west side of Italy between the Apennines and the sea. Although in form it was a self-governing Republic, actually it was under the rule of a wealthy citizen-family called the Medici. Among the other chief States of Italy (Genoa, Milan, Venice, the Papacy, Naples) Florence could only preserve itself by the most careful policy, the nicest balancing of forces.

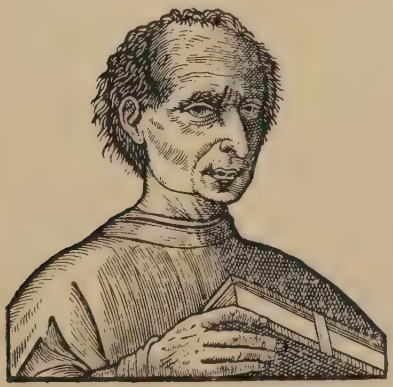
Of Machiavelli's youth almost as little is known as of Dante's or Shakespeare's. He was well trained in Latin, and had a wide

IL PRINCIPE
DI NICOLO MACHIAVELLI,
AL MAGNIFICO LORENZO
DI PIERO DE MEDICI.

LA VITA
DI CASTRVCCIO CASTRACANI
DA LVCCA.

IL MODO CHE TENNE
IL DVCA VALENTINO
PER AMMAZZARE VITELLOZZO VITELLI,
OLIVEROTTO DA FERMO, IL SIGNOR PAGOLO,
ET IL DVCA DI GRAVINA.

I RITRATTI
DELLE COSE DELLA FRANCIA
ET DELLA ALAMAGNA.



M. D. L.

Portrait of Machiavelli on the title-page of an edition of 'Il Principe' issued in 1550

knowledge of Roman history and literature. Greek he did not know; his education was neither of the pedantic Medieval type nor of the freer Renaissance type; it was Roman; and Machiavelli was in spirit a Roman.

The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494 brought about the expulsion of the Medici from Florence; the Republic was made free. Machiavelli then became a clerk in the Florentine Chancery; and in 1494 he rose to be Secretary of this office, a position something like that of a modern British Secretary of State. He had not merely to attend to the business of the State in the Chancery; he frequently had to go on missions to other States, to France and Germany. It was on one of these special missions in 1502 that he visited Cesare Borgia, Duke of Romagna. Cesare, whose record of treachery and passion is now chiefly remembered, was also a splendid soldier in the field, a splendid administrator in the council-chamber: 'he brought law and order into the Romagna as it had never been known before, and his subjects regretted his downfall.'[1] In Machiavelli's eyes Cesare was the type of ruler who could preserve a State in an unscrupulous age, a man who was statesmanship incarnate. It was with the qualities of Cesare Borgia in his mind that he wrote *The Prince*, although his hero had long since met his death in the siege of a castle in Navarre in 1507.

In 1512 the battle of Ravenna, although a victory for the French, was followed by their retiring from Italy. Spanish troops restored the Medici to Florence. Machiavelli lost his office and retired to his small country estate. There, like the serious old Roman that he was, he meditated on public affairs, and wrote his books. He died in 1527. *Il Principe* was written in 1513, and circulated in manuscript, although it did not appear as a printed book until 1532.

In 1512-13 the situation of Italy, as it seemed to Machiavelli, looking out with all his experience from his Tuscan country-home, was desperate. Only a despot could save her. So it was all over Europe. In England, after the Wars of the Roses, in France after the ruin of the Hundred Years War, every one was

[1] Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, iv. 65.

looking for refuge to absolute monarchy: 'Le nouveau Messie', says Michelet, 'est le roi'.[1] But such a despot, if he was to save Italy or any Italian State, would need every resource of statecraft. This statecraft is explained carefully in *The Prince*.

Like Aristotle when he wrote *The Politics*, so Machiavelli when he wrote *The Prince* was trying to answer the question: How is a State to be preserved? And he describes the various means that occur to him for preserving the State, without considering whether those means are morally right or wrong. It was not Machiavelli's business in *The Prince* to state what was morally right or wrong; this, no doubt, he would have done if he had been writing a book on Ethics. But in *The Prince* he was analysing, in cool, clear abstraction, political ways and means. It was his business to put before statesmen all the possible means towards preserving the State; which of those means the statesmen would actually choose to follow would be a question for their conscience, not Machiavelli's.

The book is full of political wisdom. Although himself an official of a Republic, and a man who had suffered (he was put to the rack by the Medici in 1512) for his devotion to the Republican cause, Machiavelli says:

> Hereditary States, accustomed to the family of their Prince, are maintained with far less difficulty than new States, since all that is required is that the Prince shall not depart from the usages of his ancestors, trusting for the rest to deal with events as they arise. (Chapter II.)

An hereditary monarchy has the stability given by 'use and wont'. Colonies Machiavelli thought to be useful as a cheap way of garrisoning distant possessions; the colonists served as their own garrison. It was thus the ancient Romans colonized.

Although believing in Monarchy, Machiavelli also believed in freedom. A servile population might fight well for a time, but when once conquered it easily reconciled itself to subjection.

> Of these two forms of Government [the servile and the free] we have examples in our own days in the Turk and the King of France. The whole Turkish Empire is governed by a sole Prince, all others

[1] 'The king is the new Messiah.'

being his servants. . . . The King of France, on the other hand, is surrounded by a multitude of nobles of ancient descent, each acknowledged and loved by subjects of his own, and each asserting a precedence in rank, of which the King can deprive him only at his peril.

He, therefore, who considers the character of these two States will perceive that it would be difficult to gain possession of that of the Turk, but that once won it might be easily held. . . . But kingdoms ordered like that of France cannot be retained with the same ease. Hence the repeated risings of Spain, Gaul, and Greece against the Romans, resulting from the number of small Princedoms of which these Provinces were made up. For while the memory of these lasted, the Romans could never think their tenure safe. (Chapter IV.)

A newly acquired State can be retained by any one of three ways:

The first is to destroy it; the second, to go and reside there in person; the third, to suffer it to live under its own laws, subjecting it to a tribute, and entrusting its government to a few of the inhabitants who will keep it your friend. (Chapter V.)

But policy alone is not enough. The Monarch must be able, when need arises, to use force:

A Prince, therefore, should have no care or thought but for war, and for the discipline and training which it requires, and should apply himself exclusively to this as his peculiar province; for this is the sole art looked for in one who commands. (Chapter XIV.)

Machiavelli does not really mean that the military art is the 'sole art' of a prince; but he does mean that policy must always have the possibility of force behind it, if it is to be universally respected. Yet, in addition to force, craftiness, he thinks, may greatly help a monarch or government.

Every one recognizes how praiseworthy it is in a Prince to keep faith, and to act uprightly and not craftily. Nevertheless, we see from what has happened in our own days that Princes who have set little store by their word, but have known how to overreach others by their cunning, have accomplished great things, and in the end had the better of those who trusted to honest dealing. . . .

To rely wholly on the lion is unwise; and for this reason a prudent Prince neither can nor ought to keep his word when to keep it is hurtful to him and the causes which led him to pledge it are removed.

With this terrible assertion we may leave Machiavelli. Here

he abandoned his position of cold analysis, and told the Prince not merely what he *could* do, but what he *ought* (as a political, not as a moral, duty) to do. All thinking men of honest character will part from Machiavelli when he says that a Government should, under certain circumstances, break faith. It is on the keeping of covenants that the existence of both private and public civilized life depends; and, since wars of religion stopped, nearly every public conflict in Europe has been fought for the maintenance of a treaty.

§ 4. *Three Artists*

Those years of war in Italy, from 1494 to 1527, are also years of wonderful brilliance in art. Every craftsman was an artist, spending loving labour upon the designing and production of even the simplest objects. Among a host of artists, three stand forth pre-eminent, Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo.

Leonardo da Vinci was the eldest of the three. Born in 1452 at Vinci in the Val d'Arno, he grew up in Florence, and joined the Gild of Painters in 1472. All his early work, except an unfinished canvas in the Uffizi Palace, *The Adoration of the Kings*, has disappeared. About the year 1480 Leonardo went off to adventures in the East, served as an engineer under the Sultan of Cairo, and visited Constantinople and Armenia. After two years he returned to Italy, to Milan, where he practised as an artist under the patronage of Duke Ludovico Sforza. It was then that he painted the *Last Supper*, a fresco, on the wall of the refectory of the Convent Santa Maria delle Grazie. Spoiled by wall-damp as it now is, the picture is still a supreme expression of religious feeling and beauty.

At Milan Leonardo instructed pupils, directed the Duke's court festivities and pageants, and planned and carried into effect an irrigation system for the Lombardy plain. In 1499 Duke Ludovico was driven from Milan by his former allies, the French. Leonardo left too, for Florence, and later entered the service of Cesare Borgia as a military engineer. With Cesare he remained only about a year, and returned to Florence and engaged, in competition with Michelangelo, in decorating the Sala del

Consiglio. In 1504 he painted the half-length portrait of *Mona Lisa*, the wife of Zanobi del Giocondo, which is now one of the chief glories of the Louvre. In 1516 King Francis I attracted him to France, gave him a pension and a château on the Loire, and there he died on the 2nd May 1519. Leonardo was perhaps the greatest draughtsman of the age, the master of perspective.

Michelangelo was born in 1475 in the territory of Florence. At the age of thirteen he became an apprentice in the workshop of Domenico Ghirlandajo. Growing up amid the masterpieces of Florentine art, Michelangelo early showed his great capacity, and attracted the attention of Lorenzo de' Medici, the Magnificent, the chief magistrate and ruler of Florence. He became a pupil in Lorenzo's school in the garden on the Piazza, where the art of antiquity was represented by the best surviving classical statuary. Influenced by this Michelangelo became the greatest exponent of the antique, although he never allowed it to warp or cramp his own energetic individualism.

In 1492 Lorenzo the Magnificent died, and Michelangelo lost his best friend then. After some changes of residence he at length went to Rome, on the invitation of the Cardinal San Giorgio, and established himself there in 1496. In the Eternal City, amid the severe majesty of classical buildings and the magnificence of classical sculptures, Michelangelo found his true line. He 'tore out of marble' those immense and perfect monuments, the Pietà, David, Moses, which combine the beauty of classical sculpture with the strength, the realism, the solemnity of the Middle Ages. Under the influence of Pope Julius II, a great patron of the arts, Michelangelo executed the *David* (which was designed to be part of the Pope's tomb), and also the beautiful oil paintings on the ceiling of the Sixtine Chapel in the Vatican. Julius II died in 1513. His successor Leo X, Medici, although anxious to employ the talents of Michelangelo, could never agree with the great artist, and interfered with and spoiled much of his work. In 1528 Michelangelo returned to Florence. For the rest of his life he worked chiefly on designs, sculptural and pictorial, for St. Peter's, of which he was officially appointed architect in 1541. He died in 1564 in his ninetieth year.

Florence. From a Belvedere in the Boboli Gardens

Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart

Devoted to his art, loving solitude and simple living, Michelangelo in his long life produced works of grandeur and genius in many arts. Besides painting and sculpture, he wrote some of the finest Italian sonnets in his later age. He constructed the fortifications for the second (short-lived) Florentine republic of 1529, he designed in part the gigantic and magnificent basilica of St. Peter's.

Raphael Santi was born in 1483, and was only thirty-seven when he died, at the height of the Renaissance, seven years before the sack of Rome. He was a native of Perugia in Umbria, and learned his art in the workshop of Perugino. In 1505 he received a commission to help in decorating the Piccolomini Palace at Siena. Another early commission resulted in the painting of the Madonna, Child, and Saints, called the *Madonna Ansidei*, now in the National Gallery at London. As fame and a busy practice came to him Raphael kept two painting-rooms busy, one at Perugia, the other at Florence, where he and his pupils came under the influence of Leonardo and Michelangelo. His picture, the *Madonna of Terranuova* (now in the Berlin Museum) therefore combines 'the sweetness and brightness of the Umbrian School, with the breadth of execution of the Florentine'. At Florence Raphael—when Michelangelo had gone to Rome and Leonardo to Milan—reigned supreme; in his busy painting-room were produced the celebrated pictures, the *St. Catherine* and *Belle Jardinière* of the Louvre, the Esterhazy *Madonna* of Vienna, and many others. In 1509 Pope Julius II drew him to Rome to paint the ceilings of the Vatican. When Leo X became Pope, Raphael continued to work for the Papacy, and designed the wonderful tapestries which, woven at Brussels, became, with Michelangelo's paintings and his own Madonna, the glory of the Sixtine Chapel. Besides sacred and classical paintings of great beauty and charm, he executed some of the finest portraits of all time, such as that of Julius II in his red cardinal's gown, or the living likeness of Leo X, at Florence.

The number of Raphael's works is unknown; in his short life of incessant activity he and his pupils produced masterpieces which became the glory of almost every great palace in Italy, and

Florence. S. Maria Novella, Campanile

Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart

were sought after by all the lovers of art in Europe. He died in 1520 of a malarial fever, caught in excavations that were being made in some classical ruins at Rome.

Supplementary Dates.

I

1495 Boiardo's 'Orlando Innamorato' inaugurates the Romantic Epic.
1499 Bramante settles in Rome and perfects the classic style of architecture.
1506 Julius II lays the foundation stone of the new St. Peter's.
1510 Ariosto's 'Orlando Furioso'.
1513 Pope Leo X restores the gymnasium of Eugenius IV.
1528 Castiglione's 'Courtier', a manual of etiquette.

II

THE REFORMATION

In the first half of the sixteenth century the religious unity of Europe was broken by the Reformation. Yet the movement towards Reformation was no new thing. For at least a hundred and fifty years the Catholic Church had been menaced with disruption through heresy or reform. It is likely that if the leaders of the Church had met this movement with a moderate and enlightened attitude the split would have been averted.

Wycliffe (*c.* 1325–84) and Huss (1369–1415) had failed to reform the Church in the Middle Ages. At the beginning of the modern epoch Savonarola made an earnest attempt to arouse Catholics to a sense of their danger. This eminent man was a Dominican Friar of the Florentine Convent of San Marco, of which he became Prior in 1491. It was in this Convent that Brother 'Angelico' had painted, fifty years earlier, his exquisite frescoes of the life and death of our Lord. In every cell and along the corridor were these touching pictures of love and devotion: the air itself was 'vibrant with adoration'.[1]

From the Convent Savonarola preached and prayed for a reformation of manners among the cultivated but too pleasure-loving citizens of Florence. Alexander VI (Borgia), a man of evil habits, was then Pope. Savonarola thundered against the corruption at the centre of the Catholic Church as well as against the corruption of his own city. For two years the Florentines became a reformed people. Pope Alexander VI exerted himself. By his orders in 1498 Savonarola was imprisoned. At last he was strangled; the body was then publicly burned.

In the harsher atmosphere of the German cities the reform movement made a more decisive advance than it did under the warmly coloured sky of the valley of the Arno.

Martin Luther was the son of a Thuringian miner. He was

[1] *Sainte-Marie-des-Fleurs*, by René Boylesve, Chap. XI.

a student of Erfurt University and obtained the degree of Master of Arts, at the age of twenty-six, in 1505. He had already resolved to devote himself to a life of religion; accordingly he joined the ministry of Augustinians at Erfurt. In 1508 he became a teacher in the University of Wittenberg which the good Elector, Frederick of Saxony, had founded. A visit to Rome in 1511, during the pontificate of Julius II, gave him direct experience of the secular as well as the sacred pomp of the Papacy; but it was not this that aroused him to criticism of the Church: such criticism came from his close study of the works of St. Paul and St. Augustine. His readings and his meditations gradually convinced him that it was by faith in Christ and not by works that man could be saved: by reliance upon the sacred truths of religion, not by penances, fasts, and other outward acts enjoined by the Catholic Church. For although the Church always urged upon sinners the duty of inward repentance and contrition as well as of outward acts of penance, it was the outward acts that at this time were being chiefly demanded. For the artistic secularly minded Leo X required much money for his court as well as for the building (or rather rebuilding) of a new magnificent house of God, at Rome—St. Peter's Church—and money could be got most easily by a religion that was not austere. To insist on inward repentance after agonies of remorse made religion unattractive to sinners, who would gladly pay good money for 'indulgence' or forgiveness, to be got without much trouble.

In 1517 John Tetzel, a Dominican Friar, Papal agent for the sale of indulgences, came near Wittenberg. A rather dull little town to-day, Wittenberg was in those days a more lively and picturesque place, for it had a university thronged with students (now all gone), and his Highness the Elector often visited it. The broad Elbe flows past Wittenberg, making, in Luther's day, a convenient highway for merchants and students. The two fine churches and the monastery made the town a centre for country people on holidays. 'On the day before the festival of All Saints (1 November 1517), on which the relics of the Church were displayed to the crowds of country people who flocked into the town, Luther passed down the long street with a copy of ninety-

five theses or statements against indulgences in his hand, and nailed them on the door of the palace church ready for the festival on the morrow.'[1] A struggle then began which was to split Christendom into Protestant and Catholic. The tremendous step of setting his face against the universal Church was taken by a German monk. Condemned and excommunicated by Pope Leo X, Luther publicly defied him, and on 10th December 1520 burned the Papal Bull outside the Elster Gate of the town.

On the 28th January 1521 the Diet or Parliament of the Empire, consisting of the College of Electors, College of Princes, College of Cities, met at Worms. The Rathaus, in which the Diet sat, has since been destroyed by the French (1689). The picturesque old town is on the left bank of the swiftly flowing Rhine, and has a fine sandstone cathedral, and quaint red-tiled houses. When Luther was summoned to the Diet, his friends, remembering the fate of Huss, who was burned to death at the Council of Constance, besought him not to go; but he said that 'he would go to Worms, even though there were as many devils within its walls as there were tiles on its houses'.

On the 2nd April Luther, taking leave of his friends, especially of Lucas Cranach, the Elector's court painter (whose works can still be seen at Wittenberg) set off in a covered wagon on the long journey to Worms. Travelling was a slow business, but in those days people did not mind that; they read, and thought, and wrote, and gossiped on the way. Luther had plenty to think about on his twelve days' journey. When he got to Worms he was asked to recant his heretical views, and to disown the books that he had written; but he answered: 'I may not and will not recant, because to act against conscience is unholy and unsafe.' He spoke to the Diet in his own homely German and in Latin.

The Emperor decided against Luther, and condemned him in an edict of outlawry which the Electors present at the Diet were with some difficulty induced to sanction. But for the moment Luther was secure, for Charles V respected the safe-conduct which he had given. The truth is that Luther had powerful

[1] Frederick Seebohm, *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*, Part II, Chap. III.

friends at Worms, like the Elector Frederick of Saxony and the veteran General Freundsberg who six years later was at the capture and sack of Rome.

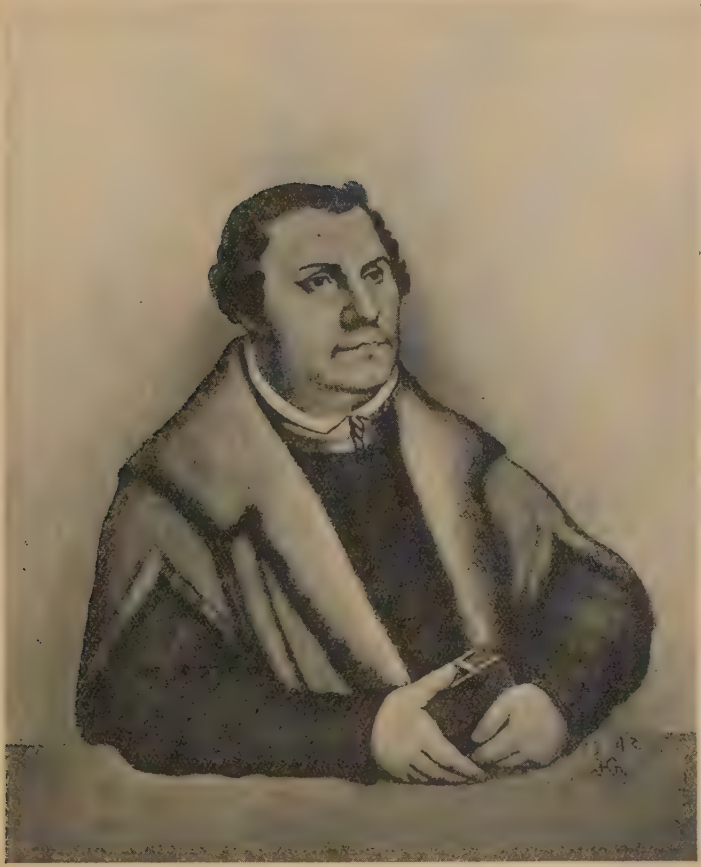
Luther left Worms and took refuge in a castle of the Elector of Saxony—Wartburg, just outside Eisenach. In the Wartburg, looking out from his chamber over the tree-clad hills of Thuringia, he meditated and wrote. In particular, he made progress with his translation of the Bible, for to give the Scriptures directly to the ordinary man in his mother-tongue was one of the chief aims of the Reform movement.

The Reformation had now begun in earnest. The Papacy had definitely rejected Luther and all his ways. The first result was that Germany was split; next, Europe; next, the whole world. Three hundred years later Napoleon said that if Charles V at Worms had only decided in Luther's favour he would have made himself and his imperial throne supreme, at least throughout Germany. But 'events had come to pass which determined the future of Germany and of Europe'.[1]

Europe had lost its unity. The Princes of Germany drew apart, and asserted their right to choose between being Protestant or Roman Catholic, whether the Emperor willed it or not. In Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, which were then (and until 1523) all under one king, Protestantism became the national religion. In England King Henry VIII, though averse to Lutheranism, nevertheless cast away all dependence upon the Pope in 1534. In Switzerland, Ulrich Zwingli, a curate of the Canton of Glarus, converted Zurich to reform in 1524; and in 1541 the Frenchman, John Calvin, made Geneva, under his severe magistracy, a Protestant City of God.

In Germany there were years of religious war, not such wide-spread, destructive war as came in the next century, but local wars of certain princes against the Emperor. In 1522 Charles V entrusted his brother Ferdinand with the task of governing Austria. In 1526 Louis II, the last Angevin king of Hungary, was killed in battle with the Turks; Ferdinand became King of Hungary. In 1552 some of the Protestant Princes of Germany,

[1] Barry, *The Papacy and Modern Times*, Chap. III.



Dr. Martin Luther

From the drawing by Lucas Cranach

headed by Maurice of Saxony, made an alliance with King Henry II of France. Coming down from Saxony into Austria, Maurice just missed capturing the Emperor himself, who escaped by fleeing from Innsbruck, across the Brenner Pass, to Villach in Carinthia (May 1552). After a respite the Emperor recovered sufficient power to make war against the French, who had captured Metz, in Lorraine (see above, p. 394). But the siege of Metz by Charles was a failure. The Empire was falling into anarchy. Maurice of Saxony, the Protestant hero, met his death in a fight to impose peace upon a princely bandit, at Sievershausen in Brunswick, on the 9th July 1553. He was only thirty-two years of age.

At last on the 25th September 1555 Charles brought (for a time) internal quiet to his empire by publishing the Religious Peace of Augsburg. Each Prince or Free City was given the right to choose between the Catholic or the Lutheran Faith, and their subjects must either agree with the Prince or emigrate. This was not toleration of religion for individuals; it was establishing the right of each of the three hundred and fifty States-Governments of Germany to fix their own religion. After this Charles V abdicated, on the 25th October 1555, in a magnificent pageant at Brussels, which the historian Motley has made famous through the power of his pen.[1]

Causes similar to those which brought about the Reformation on the continent of Europe were operating in Great Britain. The separation of England from Rome actually took place over the divorce of King Henry VIII. Unable to obtain from Pope Clement VII a divorce from his wife Catherine of Aragon, King Henry induced Parliament to expel the Papal jurisdiction from England (1534). In the previous year he had married Anne Boleyn; and Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, had declared the marriage of Queen Catherine void *ab initio*. At the same time Protestant opinion was spreading in the country, partly from ancient Lollard sources, partly owing to Archbishop Cranmer's continental connexions and friendships. The doctrinal Reformation, however, did not come fully to England until the reign of Edward VI (1547–53), when the Protector Somerset made

[1] Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Chap. I.

the First Prayer Book the law of the land (1549), and when, three years later, the Duke of Northumberland established the Second Prayer Book. This, for the most part incorporated in the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth (1559), is substantially the basis of the English liturgy to-day.

In Scotland the Reformation was later than in England, for the Scots monarchy set its force against it. It was chiefly due to John Knox, who had been at Geneva between 1554 and 1558 and who, after his return to Scotland in 1559, was the life and soul of the rising Presbyterian party.

In Ireland Henry VIII enforced the separation from Rome successfully, and Reformation doctrine made considerable headway. But the greater part of the Irish people were reconverted to Roman Catholicism by Jesuit missionaries after 1570.

Supplementary Dates.

II

1497 Celtes founds the 'Danube Literary Society' at Vienna.
Bebel and Rufus introduce Humanism into Germany.
1501 Publication of the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* of Erasmus.
1511 Luther visits Rome.
1512 Luther develops his doctrine of Justification by Faith.
1515 *Epistolae obscurorum virorum.*
1520 Luther's *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, The Babylonish captivity* and *Freedom of the Christian Man.*
1560 *Geneva Bible.*

III

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL AND THE REVOLT OF THE DUTCH

THERE were more revolts in Europe in the sixteenth century than in any other period except the nineteenth. In 1523 the Swedes threw off the government of Denmark and became an independent nation under Gustavus Vasa. In England, ruled by the Tudor monarchs, there were revolts, although not on a large scale, on an average one every ten years. In the Netherlands rebellion started an Eighty Years War against Spain. In France Huguenot and Catholic fought eight civil wars, which the Valois kings were unable to quell.

These revolts were connected with, and some of them were caused by, the Reform movement. Those in the later part of the century were connected with the Counter Reform movement, or Catholic Revival.

Macaulay, in a famous essay on the History of the Popes, has described the power of revival which is inherent in the Roman Catholic Church.

> How was it that Protestantism did so much, yet did no more; how was it that the Church of Rome, having lost a large part of Europe, not only ceased to lose, but actually regained nearly half of what she had lost, is certainly a most curious and important question.
>
> The answer is—because every institution has ' ups and downs '. The human mind and spirit is tense at times, and again relaxes. The Roman Catholic communities in the Middle Ages were for long periods fervent and devout, then alternately grew lukewarm and lazy ; and this condition again would arouse some holy man indignantly to reform them. But the Church herself is based on the divine spirit, and so is always capable of revival :
>
> She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian elo-

quence still flourished in Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's.[1]

Both Rome and London are still in existence and strong. In the sixteenth century it was Rome that required reviving most: and this task was carried out by a wounded young Spanish hidalgo, Ignatius Loyola.

This knight in 1521, at the age of thirty, was wounded and lamed for life in the defence of Pampeluna, which was being held for Charles V against the French. In the long days of illness and then of convalescence which followed, Ignatius meditated on the mysteries of life and death; and being debarred from continuing his military career by his wound, he resolved to raise another kind of army, for the service of God. In 1523 he went to Jerusalem. On returning to Europe he studied at the Spanish universities, and in 1528 at the University of Paris. There he met Francis Xavier, a brilliant young Spanish nobleman. Two or three other Spanish students gathered round him. In 1534 Ignatius and six companions received the Communion in St. Jacques at Montmartre, the mother-church which from its steep hill overlooks all Paris; and there they took perpetual vows of poverty and celibacy. This occasion was the real foundation of the Society of Jesus. In 1540 Pope Paul III gave his approval of it by the Bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*. Henceforward there was a compact army of priests, a disciplined Order of servants of the Papacy, well educated, cultured, absolutely obedient to their General, and all for life working with one object, the advancement of the interests of the Church.

There was a movement inside the Roman Catholic Church to cleanse it of abuses without producing schism or revolution. This movement originated as early as the Lutheran schism, but it died down after the sack of Rome in 1527. After 1540 it sprang into new life. In 1545 a General Council of the Church was assembled at Trent.

[1] Macaulay, Essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*, 1840

Trent was a Prince-Archbishopric within the Empire, situated in the pleasant valley of the upper Adige, and easily reached by that valley from Italy and by the Brenner Pass from Germany. Yet although many learned prelates and doctors assembled from all parts of Europe they could not settle the troubles of the Church. In its long existence, nominally of twenty years, the Council of Trent really sat for six—1545–7, 1551–2, and 1562–3. The last group of Sessions, held during the pontificate of Pius IV, was decisive, and it was in those Sessions that the influence of the Jesuits was most felt.

The result of the decrees and rules of the Council of Trent was a reformed Catholic Church, although the reform was different from that which produced the Protestant communion. The ancient doctrines of the Church were reaffirmed clearly in the *Creed of Pius IV*, so that the Protestants should be strictly marked off from the Catholics; the boundaries of Catholicism were temporarily contracted, but the Church was compacted and made ready for a fresh advance. A severe course of education was made necessary for all who would become priests; bishops were made to attend to their duties; non-residence was treated as an offence. Since that time there have been no scandals in the Papacy, and few even in the rank and file of the clergy. The reforms of the Council of Trent were completed by the work of Sixtus V, who was Pope from 1585 to 1590. He reorganized the Papal States of Central Italy, by creating proper Departments (Congregations) of Government; he limited the number of Cardinals to seventy; and he built, in the cause of Catholic Learning, the magnificent structure of the present Vatican Library. Revived Catholicism was conscious of its strength, and ready to use the secular sword.

The Catholic Reaction which conquered in Italy, Spain, France, Southern Germany, and Poland, had also a striking success, although only temporary—in England. On the death of Edward VI in 1553, Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, became Queen. Strong minded, as all the Tudors were, she was also deeply religious. She had been brought up, and had remained, in the old faith. At the moment of her

The Most Revd Dr THOS CRANMER, Archbishop *of* Canterbury, *pulled down from the Stage, by* Fryars & Papists, *for the* True Confession *of his* Faith, *in* St Mary's Church, Oxford *and led immediately from thence to the* STAKE.

accession to the throne she had to face a rebellion by the Duke of Northumberland, who wished to make his Protestant daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, Queen. The rebellion failed, but in 1554 there was another, against Mary's proposed Spanish marriage, led by Sir Thomas Wyatt. This movement was suppressed too, but it left Queen Mary more than ever determined to suppress the new form of religion.

In July 1554, Queen Mary married Philip of Spain. Cardinal Reginald Pole, a relative of the Royal Family who had refused to agree with Henry VIII's divorce and had gone into exile, returned and became the Queen's chief ecclesiastical adviser. Parliament was induced to repeal all the statutes passed against the Pope since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII, that is, since the Divorce Question of 1529. The Act *De Heretico Comburendo* was revived, and over two hundred and seventy people were burned for holding the Protestant faith. Among these martyrs were Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, the maker of the Prayer Book of the Church of England; Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, one of the most learned and earnest of the reformers, and Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, whose sermons are among the best in English literature. After the execution of Cranmer (1556) Pole became Archbishop of Canterbury.

The religious policy of Mary created deep discontent in the country. When she took part in the war against France on the side of her Spanish husband and lost Calais in January 1558, the discontent became irrepressible. Only the Queen's death in November prevented a rebellion. Pole too was fortunate to die on the same day, so that he escaped punishment for what he had inflicted on the martyrs. Queen Elizabeth peacefully restored the Reformed Faith in England.

The first people to react against the revived Catholicism were the ' wise Dutch '.[1] When Charles V put off his many crowns in 1556, he procured the election of his brother Ferdinand (Archduke of Austria) to the Empire; to his son Philip he gave Spain, Naples, Milan and—to the misfortune of all who were

[1] It is thus they are alluded to in a document of the English East India Company in the reign of Charles II.

Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots

From a Dutch engraving made in the year of her execution

concerned—the Netherlands. This indeed was the crowning blunder of Charles, and the cause of fearful disaster to Spain. Had the Netherlands been loosely united with Austria, these two unequal, but not incompatible, partners might have jogged along together comfortably enough. But the Spaniards and the Dutch were poles asunder in temperament, manner, ways of life. The blunder of Charles V in joining Spain and the Netherlands together involved the Spaniards in a secular, an age-long war which nearly bled them and their proud Empire to death. When the struggle ended in 1648, it was only a pale figure of the former Spain that was left.

The revolt of the Netherlands, which was largely although not wholly due to religious differences and oppression, began in the year 1566 and continued, intermittently and rather feebly, until 1572 when some of the confederated rebels who had taken to the sea seized Brill. Brill is a seaport on the island of Voorn, in the mouth of the Maas, opposite the long mud-bank known as the *Hoek van Holland*; when the Water-Guessen, the 'Sea Beggars', seized it, insurrection became general. The Spanish legions, although they could win land-battles, found that their power stopped at the sea. Even on land, the Netherlanders, often beaten, were unconquerable. They had for leader *Guillaume le Taciturne*, William, Prince of Orange-Nassau-Dillenburg. He was the grand young noble on whose shoulder Charles V had leaned at the ceremony of abdication in the great hall of the palace of Brussels in 1555; he had gained the name of William the Silent because, employed often on diplomatic missions for Charles, he had been cautious and always held his tongue. But he was fitted for sterner work than diplomacy; and until his assassination in 1584 he withstood, shaken but invincible, the onslaughts of Spain's armies and the military prowess of Alva and Don John. In 1579 the seven northern Dutch provinces had agreed to form one federal State by the 'Union of Utrecht'.

After the death of William the Silent, the Dutch continued the struggle with gradually increasing success as William's eldest son, Maurice, grew older and became the finest captain of the age. The destruction of Spanish naval power, when the Great Armada

Notn. G.=Gelderland · N.=Namur

was defeated by the English in 1588, did much to ease the pressure upon the Dutch. In 1609, partly through the 'good offices' of King James I of England, a peace (called, to please the proud Spaniards, a *truce*) was arranged for twelve years. The Seven Northern Provinces were henceforth known as the Federal State of the United Netherlands. The Dutch had to all intents and purposes become an independent nation. But the ten southern provinces—the modern Belgium—had (since 1579) gone back to their allegiance to Spain. They were now called the Spanish Netherlands, and were ruled by a viceroy for Philip III of Spain.

The long struggle had been no mere two-sided affair between Spain and the Dutch. It had been a veritable international episode; and it is not too much to say that freedom and the fate of the Protestant religion in Western Europe were bound up with it. Claims of separate national existence have often been exaggerated; Europe and the whole world can have too much division and sub-division. But nobody will deny the claim of the Dutch to be a separate nationality. It may be confidently asserted that no people has made a better use of freedom.

The Dutch War of Independence, like every struggle in which high ideals have been at stake, was marked by many heroic incidents; in courage, neither side could yield the palm to the other. The raising by Colonel Mondragon and his Spaniards of the siege of Goes on the island of South Beveland in 1572 deserves to be famous. The town of Goes was besieged by the Dutch soldiers, and a Dutch fleet prevented the Spanish ships from reaching the island. But the Spanish soldiers were not to be kept off:

> Determined not to lose the town, they formed the bold undertaking of wading along a narrow causeway on the 'Drowned land' (once dry, but now covered by the sea), and separating the island from the mainland). The water on this narrow causeway was four feet deep at low tide, and rose with the tide to ten feet. It was a terrible hazard for the band of 3,000 men who undertook this journey of ten miles by night with the water reaching up to their shoulders. A few false steps and they would be lost; if they failed to accomplish their task in six hours, the rising tide would sweep

Leyden. The Senate House

From a seventeenth-century engraving in the Sutherland Collection

them away. Yet such was the disciplined precision of the Spanish soldiers, that of the 3,000 only nine were lost on the way. The rest reached South Beveland in safety, and Goes was saved.[1]

The relief of Leyden by the Dutch in 1574 shows the methods and character of this people. The city held out until almost no food was left. Surrender was inevitable unless a miracle happened. The miracle was that Dutch relieving ships should sail over the land to Leyden. It was done. The Prince of Orange commanded that the sea-dikes should be broken. The water poured in and the Dutch fleet sailed through the gaps. After about two miles journey, however, the ships were stopped by shallows. All night the fleet lay in shoal water. Then a gale came from the sea and piled up the water upon the land to a depth of two feet. This was enough. The ships of light draught sailed up to the walls of Leyden. The Spaniards broke up their encampment and fled by the few remaining dry ways inland.[2] The inhabitants of Leyden commemorated the relief by founding their now famous University.

From all sides of Europe, volunteers or mercenaries had come to support one side or the other. Both types of men are characteristic of that age. The mercenary was a man of hard physique and stern character. War was his trade: he took his wages and served his master for the time being; and when one expedition, one enlistment was finished, he passed on to other fields where fighting was to be done and where a king or a general was ready to hire him. As a whole the mercenaries were a tolerant race of men: a Roman Catholic, provided his private opinions were not interfered with, would serve a Protestant master; and a Protestant would serve a Catholic. They learned to make themselves understood in different languages; they came and went and made a sort of fraternity throughout Europe. But war was a dangerous and thankless trade; they received no honour, and they fought for a living, for pay only, and not for duty. So they were no respecters of persons, and looked upon a wayside village, or a captured city as their legitimate booty. The Dugald Dal-

[1] Creighton, *The Age of Elizabeth* (1892), p. 119.

[2] Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Part IV, Chap. II.

getys of the seventeenth century could be good servants, but they often became a pest. The rise of national armies has in the last two hundred years displaced the mercenary, and has done much to regularize the conduct of war.

The volunteer could never become a pest. There were never enough of them to become this. Besides, they fought for an ideal: it was not pay or plunder that attracted them; a Philip Sidney could never be a Dugald Dalgety. The volunteer was usually a gentleman, or the son of a moderately well-to-do tradesman or yeoman. His education, his readings in Plutarch and Livy, his schooling in the chronicle-histories, had told him about Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Julius Caesar, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Henry V. He had heard tales of the Khan of Tartary and Prester John; he may, like the young Raleigh, have watched the ships putting out from their busy ports and sailing beyond the horizon towards the Spanish Main. The volunteer, like the Crusader, went where fighting was to be done for a cause which he loved. Such a man was John Smith.

Born in 1580, in Lincolnshire, on the estate of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, he went at the age of sixteen, as squire to the younger son of Lord Willoughby, to the wars for Henry of Navarre. When the Peace of Vervins put a term to this service in 1598, he passed on to fight for the Dutch and served under Maurice of Nassau. Returning to England, to the Lincolnshire estate, he made a wigwam or hut of tree-branches, and passed his time between walls out of doors and the reading of the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius and the *Prince* of Machiavelli. But the call of an active life again came to him, and he went to fight for the Emperor against the Turks. Taken prisoner in battle, he was for a time a slave in the Crimea, but he escaped and made his way back to England. When the old project of Raleigh to found Virginia was restarted, Smith went out with the Virginia Company in 1606 to make a new England overseas. He was to be President of the Colony of Virginia, and died in London in 1631. The story of his life is contained in his own work *The True Travels of Captain John Smith.*

Of such a type were the men who volunteered to go with the

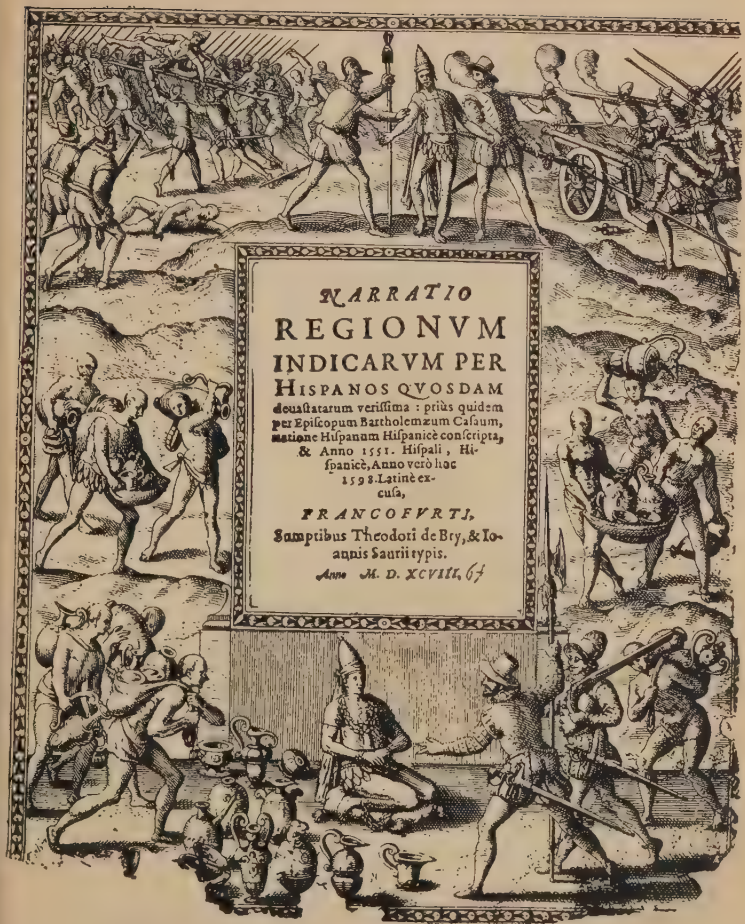
Earl of Leicester to Holland in 1583, or who went abroad with 'the fighting Veres' for over a generation between 1586 and 1625. With their sword at their side, and their copy of Caesar or Xenophon in their valise, they had the peace of mind that came from service to a cause which they admired, and from the intellectual enjoyment of literature. They fought for God and honour, and relaxed their tired spirit with 'the sincere love of letters and the innocent charm of the Muses'.[1] Such were the Elizabethan volunteers.

Yet the Elizabethans and the Dutch did not monopolize all the grandeur of spirit in the fifteenth century. When Philip II, the son of Charles V, succeeded to his father's throne, the power of Spain was at its height. Spanish Governors ruled in Sicily, in a large part of Italy, in Franche-Comté, in the Low Countries; in 1580 by the conquest of Portugal (a conquest which endured for sixty years) Philip united the whole Iberian Peninsula under his rule. Along with these European possessions there was included in the Spanish Empire vast tracts of North America and all of South America.

This, indeed, was Spain's great period; *The Century—El Siglo*—the Spaniards lovingly call it. The Spanish infantry, Spanish generals, were the pride of European chivalry, Spanish sailors cruised on every sea, discovering the undreamt of riches of the Indies, East and West.

What the Age of Elizabeth is in English Literature, the sixteenth century is in Spanish. Lyric poetry, chiefly religious, reached its highest point. Fernando de Herrera (1534–97) sang so sweetly that his fellows called him *divine*. His ode on the Battle of Lepanto is the loftiest expression of Spanish patriotism. But the marvel of sixteenth century Spanish literature is Lope de Vega, who was born in 1562, served in the Armada of 1588, wrote over two thousand plays, and died 'of melancholy' in 1635 at the age of seventy-three. Most of his plays were 'comedies of the cloak and sword', tales of the loves and jealousies of upper-class society, and some of them later served as models for Molière. To these glories of Spain in the sixteenth century must be added

[1] Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi* (M. de Latouche, *ad fin.*).



The Exploitation of South America by the Spaniards

A German title-page, 1598

the development—almost the invention—of the novel. The *picaresque* (rogue) tales, the stories of inns and highways, of bankrupt nobles, out-at-elbows students, sham priests, swashbuckling soldiers, begin with *Lazarillo de Tormes*, a novel ascribed to a high minister of Charles V, Don Hurtado de Mendoza (1503–75). Soon all European society was laughing or crying over Spanish novels. The highest mark of grave and gay was reached just after the century had closed when, in 1605, the first part of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* appeared.

Spanish history is too little known in this country. Spain inherited in generous measure the classical tradition, and added to it by her own native genius. And this genius was most potently and lavishly displayed in the long reign of those two great Burgundians, Charles V and Philip II.

Supplementary Dates.

III

1526 Boscan inaugurates a literary revolution in Spain.
1528 Foundation of the Order of the Capuchins.
1531 Cajetan maintains the doctrine of Papal infallibility.
1536 Death of Erasmus.
1540 Appointment of Tallis as organist of the Chapel-Royal.
1542 Establishment of the Inquisition at Rome.
1564 'Utraquism' conceded in Bohemia.
1565 Palestrina's 'Missa Papae Marcelli'.
1566 Catechismus Romanus.
1567 Burning of Carnesecchi puts an end to the Protestant movement in Italy.
1578 Death of Hans Sachs.

IV

THE FRENCH WARS OF RELIGION

The French Wars of Religion were very different from the Revolt of the Dutch. They were not struggles of one nation against another; they were civil wars pure and simple. The Protestant part of the French people, called Huguenots, who were a minority of the whole, fought against the Catholic part for religious freedom. Other causes, as always happens, contribute to the dissensions; animosities between powerful families, the desire to gain personal influence in the State, anger at the misgovernment of a degenerate Royal Family, and the intrigues of Spain hoping to advance her political interest as well as the interest of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Huguenots were—and are—the Puritans of France. 'How is it', says Froude in his Rectorial address at St. Andrews, 'that if Calvinism is indeed the harsh and unreasonable creed which modern enlightenment declares it to be, it has possessed such singular attractions in past times for some of the greatest men that ever lived?'[1] The Calvinists were 'predestinarians'; they believed that men were born 'incurably wicked', doomed, unless exempted by special grace which he cannot merit, or by any effort of his own obtain, to live in sin while he remains on earth, and to be eternally miserable when he leaves it, born unable to keep the commandments, yet justly liable to everlasting punishment for breaking them.[2] Whether saved by God's grace or not, always hoping for salvation, yet never assured of it, the Calvinist must still fight on and strive to live the good life. It was this austere faith that inspired with indomitable spirit the Dutchman William, the Scotsman Knox, the Englishman Cromwell, the Frenchman Coligny. Yet even in Scotland and Holland, Calvinism in its purity remained only as the faith of a sect; the mass of the people could not endure it as a rule of life and a faith. In France it has had no apparent influence on the character of the people as a whole. And yet one is tempted to believe that

[1] *Short Studies in Great Subjects*, vol. ii, Calvinism. [2] Ibid.

Calvinism would have added to the French people just the one thing that is necessary to make them nearly perfect. For they have every brilliant quality that the human spirit can achieve; Puritanism, had it become a national force, would have given to the French that touch of austerity and inflexible moral purpose which they are said (perhaps unfairly) to lack. On the other hand, it might have robbed them of their gaiety.

Qu'as-tu fait, O toi que voilà
Pleurant sans cesse,
Dis, qu'as-tu fait, toi que voilà,
De ta jeunesse? [1]

Would Calvinism have taken away the gaiety, the essential youthfulness, the genius of France?

The French Royal Family (the House of Valois) had fallen upon evil days: Louis XII, Francis I, Henry II had all lived imprudently, in work and in play. When Henry II died, on the 10th July 1559, pierced by the lance of (the knight) Montgomery [2] in a tournament outside Paris where is now the Place des Vosges, he left a family of four sons, all diseased in mind and body; for the blood of the Medici family into which he had married was no better than that of the Valois. Francis II lived just long enough to make his wife, Mary 'Queen of Scots', also for a short time Queen of France. Charles IX reigned from 1560 to 1574. He tried to govern a country, which was getting to be like England during the Wars of the Roses, amid the distractions of a senseless court at the palaces of St. Germain, the Louvre, or Fontainebleau.

The eight French Wars of Religion were fought by a few thousands of men on either side. Each war, until the last, ended with a patched-up peace which by its trial and failure paved the

[1] What hast thou done, O thou over there, weeping ceaselessly;
Say what hast thou done, thou over there, with thy youth?
(*Sagesse*, by Paul Verlaine, see *Oxford Book of French Verse*, No. 317).

[2] Gabriel, Comte de Montgomery, was only 29 years old at the time. After the death of the King he retired from Court. Later he took part in the Religious Wars, and became one of the leaders of the Huguenots. He escaped in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, but was captured and executed in 1574.

way to a more complete system of toleration. The first war was in 1562–3, the second in 1567–8; the next came only a few months afterwards (1568–70); the fourth began with a massacre of Huguenots in Paris and other cities on St. Bartholomew's Day,

24th August 1572, and lasted for about a year; the next was in 1576; the sixth was in 1577–8; the seventh was in 1580; the eighth, called when it began in 1585 the War of the Three Henries (Henry III and Henry, Duke de Guise, against Henry of Navarre), endured after the death of the first two Henries, gradually increasing in intensity, for ten years.

Such a condition of affairs could only be in a country which

had no proper administrative system and where the Government had not an efficient standing army. There had once been a standing army in France, but at the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, at the end of the Italian Wars in 1559, it had been mostly paid off. So the Huguenots could rise in arms, and the Crown had to call upon the Catholic nobles to come to its help. Consequently, the wars that ensued were not normal contests of disciplined armies, but desultory struggles, never properly ended, slowly draining away the resources of trade and agriculture and debasing the social life of the people.

Few noble characters give light in the struggle. One was Michel de L'Hôpital, the Chancellor, chief officer of the legal and legislative system when the wars began. He had besought the Estates-General (the national Legislature) which met at Orleans in 1560; 'let us get rid of these devilish words, these names of party, faction, sedition—Lutheran, Huguenot, Papist; and let us keep the pure name of Christian'; and he had added a charge 'to go straight forward as politic men', *cheminer droit en hommes politiques*, a phrase which inspired the *Politiques* who were in the end to save France.

Yet before the Politiques, the moderate men of both sides, could bring compromise and peace into fanatical, distracted France, the horrors of civil war and massacre had run a long course. In the biggest massacre of all, the St. Bartholomew of Paris, during a brief peace that was no peace, the noblest of all the Huguenots lost his life. Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, had never been to sea. But he had fought his country's battles on land and had saved France from the most powerful attack ever made by the Spaniards, when he defended St. Quentin in 1557. He led the Huguenots in war when their faith was in danger but accepted a compromise when it was offered; he was gaining the confidence of the King, Charles IX, and was starting a new rule of peace when the Duke of Guise had him murdered when lying, already wounded, in bed. His statue, between emblematic figures of Country and Religion, looks out upon the Rue de Rivoli from the front of the chief Huguenot church, the *Oratoire*, at Paris.

'Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France'

From a drawing by Francis Clouet in the Cabinet des Estampes

There was only one man left who could cure France of her ills, and he, fortunately, though exposing himself to every danger, escaped death in massacre and battle. This was Henry, King of Navarre, chief prince of the House of Bourbon.

The reigning line of Valois was drawing to its end. Charles IX died raving about the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, in 1574. His brother, Henry III, rather more capable in mind, although no stronger in body, was assassinated by a Dominican friar in 1589. He was the last of the Valois, who had ruled in France since 1328. His cousin, Henry of Navarre, was the lawful heir to the throne; but, because he was a Huguenot, the Roman Catholics (all except the Politique wing or party among them) would not accept him as King. These extreme Catholics, headed by the family of Guise, had formed a Holy League for the defence of their religion in 1576.

The League was a widespread association, with a Council of Sixteen in Paris and federated clubs in every provincial city. Controlling Paris and the chief cities, heavily subsidized by the Spanish Government, the League could always secure an army of devoted Catholics or of hired mercenaries. And the mob of Paris were leaguers almost to a man. But 'Paris is worth a mass', said Henry of Navarre, and in 1593 he began to receive instruction. In July of this year, he was received into the Catholic faith at St. Denis, outside Paris. Already he had all the Huguenots and Politiques (that is to say, the more moderate Catholics as well as moderate Huguenots) behind him; and now even the extreme Catholics could not object to him. On the 22nd March 1594 he entered Paris with his army. 'Politiquism', the spirit of strength and moderation, triumphed under 'the helmet of Navarre'.

Now let there be the merry sound of music and of dance,
Through thy corn-fields green, and sunny vines, oh! pleasant land of France . . .
For our God hath crushed the tyrant, our God hath raised the slave,
And mocked the counsel of the wise, and the valour of the brave.[1]

In 1598 the Edict of Nantes gave full toleration to the Hugue-

[1] Macaulay, *Ivry, a Song of the Huguenots.*

nots, and for the next eighty years there was religious peace in France.

The Wars of Religion rendered difficult, but did not stop, the intellectual activity of the sixteenth-century Frenchman. This activity had shown itself powerfully, riotously profuse in a writer of the period before the wars, François Rabelais. Born in 1483 at Chinon in the sunny region of the Loire, Rabelais had been placed in a monastery at the age of nine. In time he became a Franciscan friar and priest, but the life of a religious irked him, as it had irked another great 'Humanist', Erasmus, largely because the monks of those days despised studies; and at the age of forty Rabelais fled. He had friends who gave him hospitality, and he lived and read—read everything that he could lay his hands on—until he entered the University of Montpellier in 1530, and qualified in the profession of a physician.

In 1532 Rabelais went to live at Lyons, which was then a great centre of French intellectual life. There he discoursed with eminent scholars, there he read, and wrote. *The Great and Inestimable Chronicles of the Grand and Enormous Giant Gargantua* was printed at Lyons in 1532. It was followed by a sequel or second part, *Pantagruel*. The works leapt into almost universal popularity. Their satire, their wit, their wise sayings chimed with the spirit of the age, a spirit which revolted against superstition, and was prepared to make fun of the extravagances of religious and social life. Yet many people too were offended at Rabelais's work, not merely by its frequent coarseness, but by its open satirizing of the clergy. The writer narrowly escaped persecution as a heretic, but King Francis I favoured him. In his last years he was parish priest at Meudon, led a good life, preached to his parishioners, and doctored their ills. His writings, in spite of their buffoonery, are an inexhaustible well of jollity and common sense, the outcome of the wide, tolerant, cheerful spirit of the Touraine people, amid whom Rabelais had passed his youth before the monastery shut its gates upon him..

As Rabelais was one of the first great prose-writers of France, so Ronsard was one of the first great poets to use the ordinary French tongue. His friends called him the Prince of Poets, and

he was the leader of a famous group of ardent young poets called the *Pléiade*: Pierre Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay, Lazare de Baïf, Jean Dorat, Amadis Jamin, Étienne Jodelle, and Pontus de Thiard. Several of these had been fellow students at the University of Paris. Ronsard, who was of noble birth, was born in 1524, studied at the Collège de Navarre in the University of Paris, and became one of the official gentlemen in the household of the Duke of Orleans. Illness attacked him and made him deaf, so he went back to the University, studied literature, and founded the *Pléiade* group. His *Odes* were published in 1550, his Hymns in 1555. He was greatly favoured by the Court, was given pensions and every encouragement, and lived tranquilly through the Wars of Religion until 1585. His last years were spent, for he was unmarried, in the abbey of Croix-Val in his native district of Vendôme. In 1584 he edited and produced the complete edition of his works, and died next year, honoured by all the men of Church and State. Ronsard is the sweetest singer of the sixteenth century in France. The troubles of the age did not disturb him. His delicate verses, his love of God and men and Nature, give his works a charm that never fails. In freshness and sweetness his work is like that of Sidney and the Elizabethan 'Arcadians'.

Another writer who quietly pursued his literary inclinations through the Wars of Religion was Michel de Montaigne, Seigneur of Montaigne in Périgord. He was born in 1533 and educated at the Collège de Guienne in Bordeaux which was at this time the best school in France. One of young Montaigne's tutors at the College was George Buchanan, the most famous Scottish scholar of that, or indeed of all time, who was later tutor of King James I. On leaving school Montaigne entered the profession of law, but his career was chiefly influenced by Étienne la Boëtie, a poet who died young. In 1571 Montaigne, succeeding to his elder brother's estate, retired from his post of counsellor in the Parlement of Bordeaux, and took up the life of a country gentleman. It was then, when he was nearly forty years old, that he began to write his now famous essays, those pithy repositories of the random thoughts of a tolerant observer of life. The only

changes in his quiet way of life were in 1580 when he went on a journey through Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. Next year he was elected Mayor of Bordeaux, and held this difficult position with distinction for two years of Huguenot warfare. He died in 1592.

Montaigne is the perfect *Politique*, a wise, tolerant man, an honest searcher after truth, but never going to extremes, unable to see why Christian people should massacre each other in the name of religion, and looking with an equable eye even upon the moral faults to which the society of that time was prone. He started the short essay in modern literature. The Englishman, Bacon, followed in his steps.

Another pupil of the Collège de Guienne at Bordeaux, where Montaigne was educated, was Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609). He was a Huguenot, and found it convenient in 1572 to become professor at Calvin's Academy in Geneva. But he only spent two years there, and passed the rest of his life in France until 1593 when he removed to Holland. His great editions of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius appeared in France during the Religious Wars. His contemporary Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) was also a Huguenot; he taught at Geneva and London more than in France. It is doubtful if the French were ever more learned than in the sixteenth century. But although French learning went on throughout the Wars of Religion, the disturbances and persecutions were not good for it, and in the next century the palm for classical scholarship passed from the French to the Dutch.

Supplementary Dates.

IV

1544	'The Heptameron' of Margaret of Navarre.
	Odes of Ronsard.
1550	Predominance of the *Pléiade* in French Literature.
1553	Death of Rabelais.
1555	Hymns of Ronsard.
1584	Publication of Ronsard's complete works.
1592	Death of Montaigne.
1609	Death of the Humanist Joseph Justus Scaliger.
1610	'Grand Design' of Henry of Navarre.
1614	Death of Casaubon.

V

THE RISING TIDE

The Catholic Revival was a rising tide which nearly engulfed the Protestants in the Thirty Years War. This was not a local struggle like the French Wars of Religion. It was contested on a more European scale than the Dutch War of Independence, although this too involved European interests. The Thirty Years War was the last and biggest struggle of Protestants and Catholics, although Catholics sometimes fought on opposite sides.

Since the Religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555, the Germans had jogged along fairly happily. Living was easy in late sixteenth-century Germany. An English traveller, Fynes Moryson, a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, went through the country in the year 1592, and notes in his *Itinerary* that there was an abundance of food, that the people were cheerful and, except for a tendency to drunkenness, well-behaved. They were very fond of salted fish and cheese, because this sort of food stimulated thirst: even without this, they were only too ready to drink—'the least crumb is sufficient'. Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* was first published in the year 1617.

Another authority, Samuel Lewkenor, about the same period describes with admiration the abundance of universities. Student-life was a notable feature of sixteenth-century Germany as it came to be again in the eighteenth. Younger men, earnest seekers after knowledge, clad in coarse cloth and heavy boots, lived frugal lives in the garrets of Erfurt or Heidelberg or Göttingen, studying the scriptural or classical texts in the editions of Erasmus, Scaliger, or Casaubon, and lightening their leisure hours with music and songs, many of which were still in the Latin tongue:

Gaudeamus igitur,
Iuvenes dum sumus;
Post iucundam iuventutem,
Post molestam senectutem,
Nos habebit humus.[1]

[1] 'Let us rejoice, therefore, while we are young. After a merry youth, after a troublous old age, the earth shall have us.' This song was first

Heidelberg in 1879

This care-free, industrious student-life was soon to be interrupted for many, many years. Suddenly in May 1618, into the busy markets of the mercantile Free Cities, and into the sleepy streets of the dull electoral and princely capitals, came the news that the nobles of Bohemia had revolted against their Austrian Sovereign and had thrown his two ministers out of a window of the palace of Prague. This was the signal for the bursting out of troubles which, however, had long been brewing in Germany.

The chief causes of the Thirty Years War were the *Ecclesiasticum Reservatum* and the autocratic Catholic policy of the three Habsburg emperors, Rudolf, Matthias, and Ferdinand II.[1]

The Ecclesiastical Reservation was inserted, under protest of the Lutherans, in the Religious Peace of Augsburg. It enacted that bishops, canons, or abbots who changed from Catholicism to the Reformed Religion after the year 1552 should forfeit their lands and revenues. The Protestants, on the other hand, contended that when in a bishopric, for instance, not merely the bishop but all the canons became reformed, then the lands should go with them and pass away from the Catholic Church; and acting according to this principle, they 'secularized' many an important see, like Magdeburg which became practically a principality for a younger son of the House of Brandenburg (1561), or Bremen, into which King Christian of Denmark forced one of his sons in 1621. Some of the secularized revenues in Germany, like some of the proceeds of the dissolution of the monasteries in England, went to endow university or scholastic foundations, like the almost unique public school of Schul Pforta in (Prussian) Saxony; but the bulk of the revenues were not so well employed, and—in any case—the Catholics had a legitimate grievance where ecclesiastical property was secularized after 1552.

On the other hand Protestants had their grievance too. The Emperors Rudolf, Matthias, and Ferdinand 'of Styria' were

printed in the year 1776, but its origin goes back to the late thirteenth century.

[1] Rudolf, 1576–1612; Matthias, 1612–19; Ferdinand II, 1619–37. Ferdinand had been elected King of Bohemia in 1617, while his cousin the Emperor Matthias was still alive.

deeply under the influence of the Jesuits. They were determined to assert their position as Catholic monarchs. Ferdinand, before he came to the Imperial throne, had reconverted his duchy, or archduchy, of Styria. In Bohemia he began a similar policy in 1617. The Protestant princes feared for their liberties, and doubted if even the guarantees of the Religious Peace of Augsburg

Note. W.P. = West Pomerania

would protect them. Besides, Calvinists were not included in the Augsburg peace. In 1608 some Protestant princes, headed by Ferdinand IV, Elector of the Palatinate (a Calvinist), formed the Evangelical Union. Next year, 1609, a number of Catholic princes, led by Maximilian ' the Great ' of Bavaria, started the Catholic League. It was in 1610 that King Henry IV of France, Catholic though he now was, took up arms to check the advance of the Catholic princes, especially the House of Austria, on the Rhine, but he was assassinated in his carriage, as he was leaving Paris for the scene of action, on the 14th May. Had he lived

longer he might have done more than check the Habsburg designs. He himself had a design to federate all Europe into a community of allied though independent Christian States. But this *Grand Dessein* remained only as a memory in the memories of his friend and minister Sully, until it became famous again when the Covenant of the League of Nations was made.

The age was productive of great men. Henry IV was a hero, with sufficient will-power, genius, and moral earnestness to stop the ruin of France, but not in a sufficiently high degree to stop the ruin of Europe. There was only one man who could do that; he was a Swede, Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of the North, and when he came to Germany in 1630 he had only two years of life left to do the work in. But before he came a good many things had happened; and another pair of great men had made their mark in Europe. These were Maximilian of Bavaria and Wallenstein.

Although nobody knew it, the fates had decreed that three families were to be rivals for pre-eminence in Germany. These were the Habsburgs (Austria), the Wittelsbachs (Bavaria), and the Hohenzollerns (Brandenburg); and had the fact been made known in 1618 and a wager started, everybody who did not put their money on the Habsburg chances would have ventured it on the Wittelsbach. Nobody took any account of the Hohenzollerns.

When the Bohemians revolted in 1618–19 against their Austrian sovereign, they looked around to find another man for king. They offered the crown to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, a Calvinist, the head of the Evangelical Union, and son-in-law to King James I of England. Frederick accepted the alluring but dangerous offer (1619), and went to Prague with his wife, the Princess Elizabeth, henceforth to be known as the Queen of Bohemia.

So, when my mistress shall be seen,
In form and beauty of her mind,
By virtue first, then choice, a Queen,
Tell me if she were not design'd
Th' eclipse and glory of her kind.[1]

[1] Sir Henry Wotton on *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (*c.* 1625).

The revolving wheel of the King of Bohemia's career

From a seventeenth-century satirical engraving in the Sutherland Collection

Elizabeth, however, did not remain queen for long, except in name. Her husband Frederick was only a 'Winter-king' as the Jesuits prophesied that he would be, for on the 8th November 1620, he was defeated by Maximilian of Bavaria with the troops of the League and of Austria, at the battle of the White Mountain, three miles from Prague along the road that leads towards the Saxon frontier and Dresden. Thus Frederick lost Bohemia and soon he lost the Palatinate too.

The Protestants in Bohemia had begun the war to assert political and religious liberty. Their failure provoked a reaction by the Catholics against them. One State after another was drawn into the struggle; England and Denmark tried to intervene; but nothing, as it seemed, could stop the progress of Maximilian of Bavaria, with his Catholic League troops, under the immediate command of the famous Walloon, General Tilly. The Emperor Ferdinand II (Ferdinand of Styria and Bohemia, who had been elected Emperor in 1619), Maximilian, Tilly, and finally their Spanish allies (for the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs acted in concert) were too much for the German Protestant forces. By the year 1623 the Palatinate had been conquered, and its capital Heidelberg was garrisoned by Catholic troops. King Christian IV of Denmark joined in the war, with the promise of English subsidies, in 1625; but the League troops, under the apparently invincible Tilly, defeated him at Lutter (August 1626). Denmark was invaded and Christian was glad to accept peace in 1629.

So far, the war had gone in favour of the Catholics, but they had pressed their arms chiefly against the Calvinist princes. The Lutherans had, for the most part, kept out of the war. Maximilian of Bavaria had proved himself to be the strong man of Germany; he possessed the best general (Tilly) and the best army; he had money, too, and lent it freely to the Emperor Ferdinand to carry on the war. But the Emperor's star was rising too, for he discovered a general in a young Bohemian nobleman, whose genius went far beyond that of Tilly.

This man was Albrecht von Wallenstein, who had carried on the last part of the campaign against Christian of Denmark, and

had forced him to make peace in 1629. The campaign in Jutland had only stopped when the Imperialist army reached the sea. King Christian himself was safe in his islands. Standing on a Jutish promontory, looking across the Little Belt of water to

Albrecht von Wallenstein

the island of Fünen, Wallenstein saw that without a navy a military empire is helpless. The same lesson was given him when he besieged the Pomeranian town of Stralsund. This place, although on the mainland opposite to the island of Rügen, is practically an island and can only be approached by bridges. Wallenstein besieged it in the grand style, but as the town remained open to the sea, and the Danes and Swedes sent men

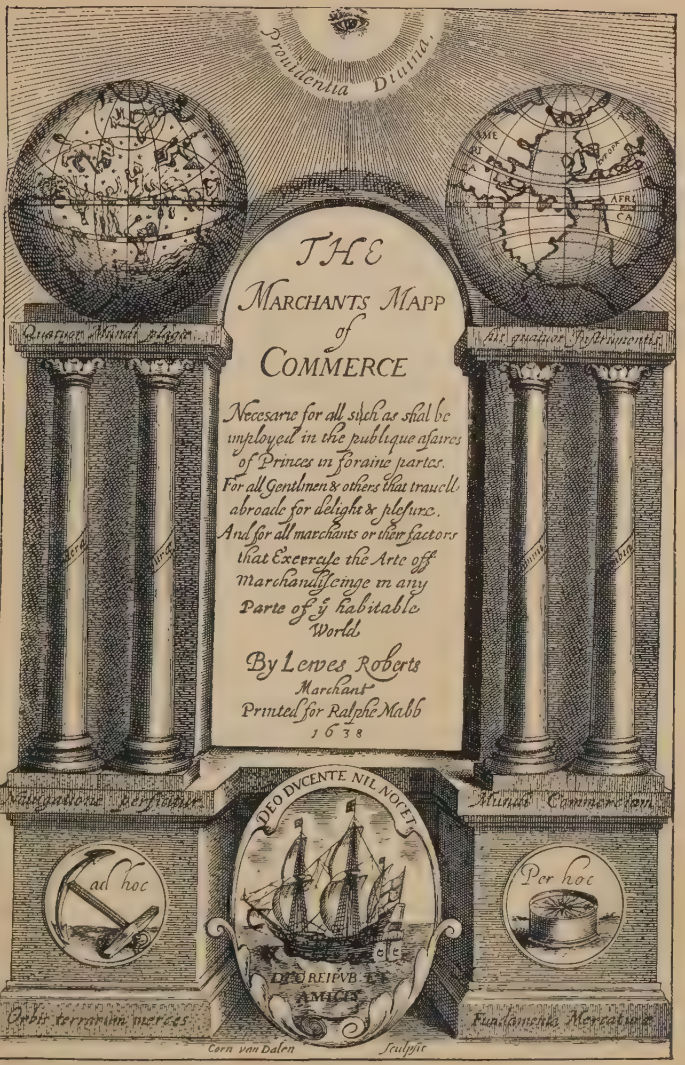
by ship to help the burghers, it remained untaken. This was the first real check to the Catholic party in the Thirty Years War.

Wallenstein had been brought up in Bohemia, in the middle of Central Europe, and had never seen the sea until he came upon it with his army pursuing Christian of Denmark. But when he discovered the sea he realized its full significance. He at once began building ships. The Emperor gave him the necessary authority. He was made Duke of Mecklenburg (the State was confiscated from the reigning Dukes) and Admiral of the Baltic. An idea, produced apparently by some Jesuits thirty years earlier, was now to be put into effect under the name of the *Habsburg Maritime Design*. An alliance of the Habsburgs with Poland secured the use of the Lithuanian ports. Ships would take the Wallensteiners to Sweden, and all Scandinavia would come under Catholicism and the Empire.

It was the political rather than the religious aspect of the Habsburg Maritime Design that interested Wallenstein; it was the religious side that chiefly interested Ferdinand. In March 1629, against the wishes of Wallenstein, he issued the Edict of Restitution, decreeing that all ecclesiastical property which had been secularized since 1552 should be restored to its original owners. This edict, although in lawful accordance with the *Ecclesiasticum Reservatum* of the Peace of Augsburg, was like a declaration of war against all the Protestant princes of Germany. For they or their relatives held secularized Church property; and many Reformed schools and other foundations depended upon the revenues of such property. Thus the Edict had the effect of completing the division of Germany into two hostile and, as it seemed, irreconcilable camps, one Protestant, the other Catholic; and in the face of the all-conquering Imperial and Leaguer armies of the Emperor Ferdinand and Duke Maximilian further resistance seemed impossible.

There was a man, however, on the other side of the Baltic who was watching the affairs of Germany with a cool brain and an untroubled eye. This was Gustavus Adolphus, statesman and soldier, then aged thirty-five.

Sweden was still a young State. Her independence was just



The Commercial expansion of Europe

A title-page of 1638

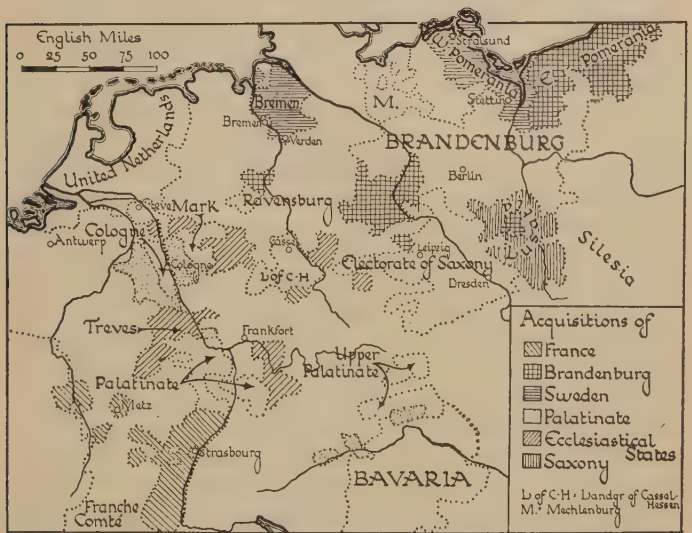
over a hundred years old. She was surrounded by hostile neighbours, Norway (which belonged to Denmark), Russia, which under Ivan the Terrible (1533–84) had made some steps towards material power, and Poland, ruled by a Catholic branch of the House of Vasa, as Sweden was by Protestant Vasas. Sweden, moreover, her mineral wealth quite undeveloped, had few agricultural resources to depend upon. In the course of a long struggle with Russia and Poland, Gustavus had won the Baltic provinces of Karelia and Livonia ; and with the corn from these lands Sweden could live well, and could, besides, wall off the Catholic Poles from trying to put their Vasa king back on the throne of Sweden. But all Gustavus's precautions and conquests would be unavailing when the Habsburg Maritime Design should be put into effect. The Imperialists would conquer all Germany ; they would sail across the Baltic, like another Great Armada with shiploads of soldiers and priests, and would conquer Sweden.

On the 30th May 1629 Gustavus announced his great decision to the Swedish Diet. He was going to throw his little nation (about two million people as compared with thirty million Germans) into the scales against the whole Empire. On the 26th June 1630 he landed in the island of Usedom, on the Pomeranian coast, with an army of 16,000 men.

Then ensued a campaign which is justly considered one of the wonders of the world. For months Gustavus seemed to accomplish nothing. The princes of Northern Germany, hoping to save themselves from the Emperor by neutrality, held aloof from the invader. Tilly took and horribly sacked the great Protestant city of Magdeburg (10 May 1631). Then Gustavus moved : neutral or not, Brandenburg would have to let him through its territory. Old George William of Brandenburg sulkily agreed. *Que faire ? ils ont des canons*,[1] he said when asked why he admitted the Swedes. Then Gustavus proceeded to go through Germany like a battering-ram. Within a few months Europe turned a definite corner in its history. The Habsburg Maritime Design was no more heard of. The army of the Catholic League

[1] ' What can one do ? They have cannon.' (See Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, Book III, Chap. XVI, quoting *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*.)

was shattered at Breitenfeld (September 1631). The Swedes marched to the Main, the Rhine, the Danube. An irruption of Wallenstein into Saxony recalled the great king north again. At Lützen (6 November 1632) the two greatest captains of the war met; Wallenstein, the cool defender, held his line; the impetuous Swede attacked, drove the Imperial forces off the field,



GERMANY - TERRITORIAL CHANGES OF 1648

but was hacked to pieces leading a cavalry charge in which he had outrun all his men. The glorious Lion of the North was dead; but he had saved Northern Europe, perhaps all Europe, from Habsburg dominion, and had re-established equilibrium between Catholics and Protestants. Gustavus, therefore, is the first maker of the modern European system, which depends on a balance of power, with no domination by any one State, and with the two branches of the Christian religion holding powerful sway, without rivalry or competition, each in their separate spheres.

It was this separation of spheres, Catholic and Protestant, that

the peace which came at the end of the struggle definitely recognized. The war had not ended with the death of Gustavus at Lützen. He died too soon for either side to acknowledge complete defeat, or even to acknowledge, through the exhaustion of both parties, 'stalemate'. Had Gustavus lived he meant (and he had strength and genius to do it) to federate all the North German States, with Denmark (which he was going to conquer) and his own kingdom of Sweden, into a *Corpus Evangelicorum*, a Society of Protestant States, which should counterbalance the Catholic Empire. This was a fine conception, but with Oxenstjerna, the minister whom Gustavus left to carry on his work, it was only a memory. Oxenstjerna had the plan, but he could not put it into effect. He was sufficiently glad if he could withdraw Sweden from the long war, compensated for her heroic sacrifices in the common Protestant cause.

It was this necessity for a Swedish compensation, coupled with the military intervention of France in 1635 to gain Alsace and the Rhine frontier, that prolonged the war for sixteen years after the death of Gustavus. But wisdom in the long run prevails. By the year 1648 the statesmen of the belligerent Powers, after years of negotiation which did not interrupt the hostilities, at last arranged a peace. Two Treaties, signed at Münster and Osnabrück, together make up the famous Peace of Westphalia (October 1648). The terms of the Religious Peace of Augsburg were extended to include Calvinists as well as Lutherans. Secularizations of ecclesiastical property made before 1624 were recognized as valid. Sweden was given financial compensation and the possession of Western Pomerania. France gained the greater part of Alsace. Bavaria reached the peak of her greatness (though there may be greater things yet to come for her); Maximilian, hitherto only a sovereign Duke, became an Imperial Elector, with his territory increased by the whole Upper Palatinate (Amberg and district). The Elector of Brandenburg got Magdeburg, and increased his State in other directions. Yet no one thought, even yet, that the Hohenzollerns could rival the Wittelsbachs. Charles Louis, the son of Frederick V and the Princess Elizabeth, was restored to his hereditary position of

Elector of the (Lower) Palatinate, with his capital at Heidelberg. His father had died in 1632. The Princess Elizabeth herself lived to a ripe old age, dying in England in 1662. Her daughter, Sophia, married Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover, and became the mother of George I of Great Britain.

It was the result of many curious vicissitudes that brought the grandson of the Princess Elizabeth on to the throne of the Stuarts. James I, the father of Elizabeth, had ruled in peace until his death in 1625. Her brother Charles I ended a stormy reign in the rebellion of 1642–9, with his death on the scaffold in the latter year. Republican England, which became the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was only preserved from disaster by the powerful character of Oliver Cromwell. With his death in 1658 disintegration began in the Commonwealth. General George Monk stopped this disintegration and restored the monarchy in the person of Elizabeth's nephew, Charles II, in 1660. But Charles's successor, James II, tried to Romanize England, and so was expelled in 1688 by the Bloodless Revolution. William III of Orange and his wife Mary, a daughter of James II, then became joint sovereigns. They had no children, so were succeeded by Anne, another daughter of James II. Queen Anne died in 1714 with no child to succeed to her throne. She had a half-brother, James III, son of James II, but the English people would have none of him. They preferred instead 'a wee bit German lairdie', as the Scots called George of Hanover. Thus the grandson of Princess Elizabeth came to the throne of his maternal ancestors, while James III went to live at Bar-le-Duc.

Supplementary Dates.

V

1561 Secularization of Magdeburg.
1574 Death of John Knox.
1598 Death of Tasso.
1607 'Orfeo' of Monteverde establishes the Opera.
1609 Death of Arminius.
1617 Publication of Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*.
1621 Secularization of Bremen.

VI

THE LAW OF NATIONS

BETWEEN the years 1494 and 1648 the various races of Europe, worshipping, trading, tilling, learning, or fighting, were gradually becoming solid national units, consciously inspired by national sentiment. It is in the form of nations that (so it seems) Europe and the whole world will continue to exist, at least for many, many years. The national sentiment supplies driving-force to every man in the nation; it stimulates devotion to a cause; properly directed, like all our passions, it is a power for good. Misdirected, however, national sentiment produces hatreds, feuds, fratricidal quarrels.

> The system of nationalities has already provoked and will provoke more wars than religious quarrels made formerly, and more than the ambition of kings make in our days. The covetousness of nations is more keen, their triumphs are more arrogant, their contempt is more insulting, than are those of princes; they arouse also feelings of resentment more bitter and more durable. It is no longer an abstract principle—the State or royalty—that actuates man; he is touched in his blood and in his race: the passions which formerly agitated only individuals gain the mass of the people, and they become all the more terrible in proportion as the spirits which they take possession of are more limited.[1]

Only, therefore, by submitting to law can nations live together without perpetually clashing. The life of the world depends on the Law of Nations.

'The history of the Thirty Years War', says Heeren, 'constitutes an interesting section of the history of the German Empire; but is most important for its bearing on the Law of Nations.'[2] In the first place the Thirty Years War settled for ever the

[1] Sorel, *Histoire diplomatique de la guerre franco-allemande*, tome II, p. 368–9, quoted in Manteneyer, *L'Offre de Paix Séparée de l'Autriche* (1919), p. 8.

[2] Heeren, *History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies* (trans. 1857), p. 90.

religious struggle which had begun with the Reformation. 'The Peace of Westphalia has terminated the religious quarrels, and has fixed a *status quo*, Catholic and Protestant'—so wrote one of Napoleon's active diplomatists a hundred and fifty years later.[1]

The second outstanding result of the war was the creation of the Law of Nations. There had been no such law before this, because in ancient days the Roman Empire had governed all civilized Europe; and in the Middle Ages the existence of the universal Catholic Church seemed to make unnecessary the creation of a secular code of international law. But the Reformation had destroyed the universality of the Roman Catholic Church: a large portion of the European peoples did not even pay lip-service to it.

When the Thirty Years War opened, the customs of war had never been codified. The casual way in which mercenaries were recruited and discharged was bad for discipline; the mercenaries themselves, homeless, wandering swordsmen, had no domestic ties to soften them towards the inhabitants among whom they moved. Armies 'lived upon the country'. Towns were plundered, villages ravaged, peasants were tortured to disclose their savings. A book, called *The Lamentations of Germany*, published in England in 1638 by Vincent, a Protestant pastor, gives a gruesome account of the horrors of the Thirty Years War. Grotius also writes:

> I saw prevailing throughout the Christian world a licence in making war of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed; recourse being had to arms for slight reasons or no reason; and when arms were once taken up, all reverence for divine or human law was thrown away, just as if men were thenceforth authorized to commit all crimes without restraint.[2]

Hugo Grotius was born in 1583, at Delft. The Dutch were great students of the classics in those days. Grotius went to their

[1] Laforest to Talleyrand, 17 Dec. 1802, quoted in Mowat, *The European States System* (1923), p. 30.

[2] Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis* ('concerning the Law of War and Peace', 1625), Prolegomena, § 28.

university, Leyden, and became a famous scholar, especially in the study of Cicero. In 1599 he began professional life as a practising barrister, and in the next years was often employed in State diplomatic business. Civil dissensions between the province of Holland and the other provinces of the United Netherlands drove him into exile in 1619. He spent the following years after that poorly enough, chiefly at Paris. Yet he never abandoned his legal, historical, and theological studies. He had good friends with whom he occasionally stayed in the French countryside; and he was able to get information on the public events of the day. The result of his studies, his observations, and of his practical, compassionate outlook on contemporary Europe was the book *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, published and sold at the Frankfort Fair in 1625. It was a learned and carefully argued statement of all the customs and modes of behaviour which States would reasonably be expected to observe in their relations with each other, or which individuals could be expected to observe when war for the time being suspended the laws that prevailed during peace. *Silent leges inter arma*, 'in war the laws are mute', Grotius quoted in his book; yes, he added,

> but let this be understood of laws civil, judicial, proper to peace; not of those laws which are perpetual and accommodated to all time. For it is excellently said that between enemies, written laws, that is, Civil laws, are not in force; but that unwritten laws are, namely, those which Nature dictates, or the consent of nations institutes.[1]

Grotius, therefore, set himself to write down in a reasoned system those unwritten laws of war. No book of modern times has had a greater effect, although it might be said of it, as of the Bible, that few books have been more commonly disregarded. The *De Jure Belli et Pacis* is the foundation of the whole body of rules which civilized States observe, and which the public opinion of mankind supports, in international affairs. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden knew and admired the work of Grotius, and governed his armies on its principles as long as he lived. In the later stages of the Thirty Years War the conduct of belli-

[1] *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, Prolegomena, § 26. *Silent leges inter arma* is a quotation from Cicero, *Pro Milone*, § 1.

gerents again became particularly atrocious. The sufferings of the German peoples made them almost hopeless. A man who had lived through these years, Grimmelshausen, wrote a novel called *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1669), the adventures of a boy in the long-drawn-out conflict. When the war is over, Simplicissimus, like a pious Christian in the Dark Ages, feels that he must withdraw from an evil world into solitude. So he retires to an island, refusing all invitations to return to the troubled land.

Simplicissimus, however, was wrong. The future of mankind lay with the men who, like Quintus Fabius Maximus of old, ' did not despair of the State '. The Peace of Westphalia was the work of such hopeful statesmen. It is the first grand treaty of the European System, the first Conference of the Powers. It ended the religious struggle ; it made the final recognition of the independence of the Dutch Republic and the Swiss Confederation, two small States that might be called the homes of International Law ; for Holland produced Grotius, and Switzerland produced Vattel, unrivalled exponents of the Law of Nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And to-day Holland has the Permanent Court of International Justice, while Switzerland has the seat of the League of Nations.

All the wars in Western Europe, from 1648 to 1815, were wars in which the question of maintaining or abrogating some part of the Law of Nations was at best one of the chief causes of hostilities. The other chief cause was the persistent effort of the French to gain their ' natural ' frontiers, the Pyrenees, the Rhine, the Alps. Indeed for the last three hundred years one of the great problems of Europe has been—and still is—how to reconcile the reasonable claims of France for natural, defensible frontiers with the maintenance of the existing international system and the Law of Nations.

The continuous striving of France to attain the natural frontiers began in 1552 when King Henry II switched off the French military effort from the disastrous fields of Italy to the eastern regions of Lorraine and Alsace. The wars of Huguenot and Catholic interrupted the process, but King Henry IV resumed it after he had pacified France with arms and ' a Mass '. In 1600

he won, from the Duke of Savoy, Bresse and Bugey, two provinces that brought the French frontier up to the Jura Mountains. In 1624 Richelieu became the chief minister of France. His aim throughout life was to restore to France, as he says in his *Testament politique*, its natural limits; for she was pressed by the Habsburg Powers, both from the east and the west. The Spanish State extended over the Pyrenees into Roussillon; in the east of France it possessed Franche-Comté, and in the north-east Artois. Alsace, with its great city Strasbourg commanding the Upper Rhine, was in the Empire. Richelieu set himself to restore to France the ancient limits of Gaul.

In 1635 Richelieu joined in the Thirty Years War to prevent any further increase of the Habsburg Power, which was already too great for the safety of France. In 1642 Richelieu died, but the next French minister, Mazarin, carried on the German war to its conclusion by the Peace of Westphalia. The result of the cessions of 1648 was that France touched the Rhine in Alsace, although she did not get the whole of that province. Mazarin still continued a combat with Spain in which France had become involved during the Thirty Years War. This conflict terminated with the Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659. The south-western frontier was fixed at the crest-line or watershed of the Pyrenees, and it has proved to be the most stable frontier in Europe. In the north-east France acquired Artois.

In 1661 Mazarin died; Louis XIV, who had been nominally reigning since 1643, took the government of France into his own hands. In a long and truly magnificent reign (though it ended in gloom) he fought four European wars, each successive struggle being longer and more intense than the one before. In 1667 he attacked Spain in the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium, the part of the Netherlands which had remained to Spain when the United Netherlands became free in 1609). A Triple Alliance of Holland, Sweden, and England (1668) saved this 'buffer-province', although Spain had to cede a few of the frontier towns (Lille among others) to France. In 1672 Louis made a direct assault upon the Dutch by marching over the feebly defended Spanish Netherlands into Holland. This war provoked another

Les Réfugiés François établissent des Fabriques
dans le Brandebourg
Mem pour servir à l'Histoire du Refuge T IV p 251.

The spread of French refugees in Europe after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They carried their industries with them

From an engraving by D. Chodowiecki

coalition against France, and came to an end with the Treaty of Nymwegen in 1678. The Dutch were safe, but Spain again had to bear the sacrifice by ceding to France some more Belgian towns (including Valenciennes) and Franche-Comté.

In 1681 Louis XIV seized Strasbourg with other Imperial territories in Alsace. This provoked another coalition, a Grand Alliance, against France, and a war which ended with the Treaty of Ryswick (1697). Louis kept Strasbourg. In the course of the war he had revoked the Edict of Nantes (23 October 1685). The public worship of the Huguenots was forbidden. Consequently, a large number escaped to other countries, taking their industrial skill to strengthen the resources of Louis's enemies.

The last war (1701–14) was produced by Louis accepting Spain for his second grandson, under the will of the last Habsburg king of Spain, Carlos II, who died in 1700. In this war the great victories of Marlborough and Eugene of Savoy at Blenheim in 1704, Ramillies in 1706, and Oudenarde in 1708 were a little dimmed by the stubborn resistance of the French at Malplaquet (1709) and the French victory at Denain in 1712. The long struggle ended with the Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastadt (1714); Louis agreed that France and Spain should never be joined together, although his second grandson still remained king at Madrid (Philip V). With the necessary modifications due to the wars that had been fought and to the time that had passed, the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt reaffirmed the territorial system of Western Europe as made by the Treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees. But the Spanish Netherlands and Lombardy and Naples were transferred to Austria. Great Britain kept Gibraltar, captured from Spain in 1704.

It must not be thought that Louis XIV was merely breaking the Public Law of Europe in these four wars. His chief aim was to complete the natural frontiers of France. It was inevitable that Spain should, some time or other, lose territories like Franche-Comté or the Cambrésis, which were obviously within the geographical area of France. In a more reasonable age, if the seventeenth-century monarchs had had the idea of Napoleon III, the Spaniards might have given up Franche-Comté, Lille, and Cambrai

for an exchange or for purchase. But in the seventeenth century the public opinion of court, camp, or cottage never contemplated such transactions.

When Louis XIV extended his effort from gaining the natural frontiers to annexing or controlling Holland and Spain, his views became, as French historians acknowledge, *trop étendus*, too wide ; he caricatured (*dénatura*, says Sorel [1]), the normal aims of Richelieu. In a magnificent painting by Charles le Brun on the ceiling of the *Galerie des Glaces* at Versailles, Louis XIV and his councillors are seen making the fateful declaration of war against Holland in 1672. They were not deceived about the seriousness of the step that they were taking. This was a real war for conquest : it was an attack on a powerful State which was universally acknowledged to be a member of the European system. This war produced a reaction of Europe, under the influence of William of Orange, against the military despotism of Louis, comparable to Pitt's coalitions against Napoleon I. And, both times, the Law of Nations, after tremendous sacrifices, was vindicated.

[1] Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française* (1912), vol. i, p. 283.

Supplementary Dates.

VI

1630 Death of Malherbe.
1635 Richelieu founds the Académie française.
1638 'The Lamentations of Germany', by Vincent.

VII

THREE MONARCHS

§ 1. *Louis*

'MONARCHY', says Rousseau in the *Contrat Social*, 'is suitable for large States, aristocracy for medium-sized, democracy for small States.'[1] No type of Government is perfect, because human beings are imperfect. 'Errors', wrote Milton in *Areopagitica*, 'in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident': but not incidental in each to just the same extent. Three kings at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth show the virtues and defects of the monarchical form of government: these monarchs were Louis XIV of France, Peter the Great of Russia, Charles XII of Sweden. Other types of government existed. Holland and Venice were pure aristocracies. The Free Imperial Cities of Germany and some of the Swiss Cantons (each of which was practically an independent State) were democracies, although only of a very moderate kind. It was monarchies that bulked most largely in the public eye.

Louis XIV was the biggest figure of the age. The French look upon the time in which he lived as their great period. Everything was grand then; Louis was *le Grand Monarque*, his leading soldier was *le Grand Condé*, his spirited cousin, the Princess of Orleans, was *la Grande Mademoiselle*, the century in which he lived was *le Grand Siècle*.

France, in the reign of Louis XIV, had enormous resources, inherited from the successful administrations of Henry IV, Richelieu, and Mazarin. Louis spent these resources royally. Before the increasingly long wars bit too deeply into his treasury, he had built the grand palaces of Versailles, St. Germain, and St. Cloud.

The Palace or Château of Versailles still stands in all its beauty, a worthy memento of the magnificent sovereign. About twelve miles to the south-west of Paris is a sandy plain, pleasantly wooded,

[1] Rousseau, *Du Contrat Social*, Livre III, Chap. III.

Versailles. The magnificent palace of Louis XIV

and bounded by hills that meet the eye at an agreeable distance. On a piece of low-rising ground in the middle of this plain, where there was a hunting-lodge of Louis XIII, the Grand Monarch employed all the strength and ingenuity and the brains and mechanical resources of France. Now a majestic broad avenue leads up to a spacious *Place d'Armes*. Next a gentle rise leads to a great cobbled courtyard, with giant-like statues of Louis's generals, admirals, and administrators all around it. The Château stands at the end of the courtyard, throwing out wings to half-enclose it. Chapel, halls, galleries, living-rooms—painted, gilded, beautified with vases of Sèvres china and pictures of Le Brun, Boucher, and Watteau—receive the visitor enraptured with the wealth of taste displayed before him. Everything is lofty, coloured, flooded with daylight from the spacious windows. The back of the Château is a long façade, of exquisite proportions. Looking through this, from the *Galerie des Glaces*, the eye is met by a long vista of avenue, lake, and fountain till it rests on the distant hills. The park of Versailles, terraced, wooded, watered—with lawns, flower-beds and borders, trees single, or in clumps or groves—is the triumph of landscape gardening. Here was Louis's Court; here until the Revolution were the public offices; here Racine produced *Esther*, and the plays of the aged Corneille were performed. The high life of Europe assembled purged of its gross manners; the atmosphere of a refined and liberal nobility—nobility of birth and nobility of service—lay lightly over all.

Versailles, incomplete as it remained throughout the reign of Louis XIV, was always thronged with courtiers. All the *noblesse* had to be there, at least very frequently. It was apparently Louis's policy to draw them away from their estates lest they should make difficulties for the Government there. His boyhood had been troubled by insubordination of the *noblesse*, by a sort of social war called the Fronde (1648–53), and he was not going to allow such a thing to happen again. The third Duc de la Rochefoucauld,[1] who was master of the Royal Wardrobe, said towards the end of his life that he had only spent twenty nights

[1] The son of the second Duke. The second Duke died in 1680 and was the author of the famous *Maximes morales*.

away from the Court in fifty years. The courtiers often found life monotonous at Versailles; they had to loiter in the windy alleys of the park (the plain of Versailles is swept by every wind that blows), or to stand about respectfully in the salons and galleries while the dignified monarch paraded slowly through the palace saying a word here and there: 'There is nothing comparable to the *ennui* which devours them', wrote Madame de Maintenon, the noble governess who married the King in 1685. Yet the exquisite, if artificial, beauty of Versailles, and the leisureliness of the life of cultured people, gave opportunity for the choicer spirits to use their talents: some, like the third Duc de Saint-Simon, wrote Memoirs; some, like Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, or Bourdaloue the Jesuit, made the Chapel of Versailles the scene of the grandest preaching in the history of the French pulpit; some, like Fénelon, tutor to Louis's grandsons, wrote novels: Fénelon's *Télémaque* is long and restful, filled with the spirit of the ancients as well as of the *Grand Siècle*; the courtiers encouraged Racine or Molière to produce their masterpieces; they patronized Nicolas[1] and Gaspar Poussin, Claude Gelée (Claude Lorrain), and the other painters; Madame de Sévigné wrote her famous letters. But at the end of the reign Marshal Vauban detected the seeds of national misery beneath all this splendour and wrote the *Dîme royale* (1707). Versailles has the defects which the imperfections of heroic nature cannot escape even in its grandest enterprises, but it remains a magnificent monument of an age of great men.

§ 2. *Peter*

One day, in the year 1697, the great Duke of Marlborough happened to be in the village of Zaandam. He visited the dockyard of one Mynheer Calf, a rich ship-builder, and was struck with the appearance of a journeyman at work there. He was a large, powerful man, dressed in a red woollen shirt and duck trousers, with a sailor's hat, and seated, with an adze in his hand, upon a rough log of timber.[2]

[1] 'He alone has a right to be considered as the painter of classical antiquity', says Hazlitt (*Table Talk*—'A landscape of Nicolas Poussin'). Charles Lamb said that Claude Lorrain's colours had the genuine light of the sun in them.

[2] Essay on *Peter the Great*, by Motley (1845).

This man was Peter, the Tsar of all the Russias, the ruler of territories covering about one-quarter of the whole world, who at the age of twenty-five had left his country and come to learn ship-building in Holland. He lived in a two-roomed log cottage, which is still there. But the celebrated apprenticeship of the Tsar at Zaandam only lasted three days, for the concourse of idle gazers very naturally disturbed this by no means placid man, and he speedily removed himself to Amsterdam to the dockyards of the Dutch East India Company.

In the seventeenth century Russia was an eastern Empire touching the sea nowhere but at the port of Archangel, which was frozen for about half the year. Its capital was Moscow, huge, turreted, crowded; churches like mosques, only with the cross on them instead of the crescent; a market for Central Asia, rather than for Europe; visited by slow caravans that came out of Mongolia or Turkestan; its male citizens, bearded, petticoated, illiterate; its women shut up in the houses like Orientals, never appearing in public; the Tsar and his court of ferocious nobles, *boyars*, living almost unknown to his people in the huge battlemented wall of the Kremlin, in itself almost a city, partly gloomy fortress, partly a collection of churches with flashing spires.

Peter, says Motley, is one of the comparatively small number of men who have definitely shifted the course of history. 'If he had not lived, Russia would very probably have been at the present moment . . . a vast wilderness, peopled by uncouth barbarians, and governed by a struggling, brawling, confused mob of unlettered boyards, knavish priests, and cut-throat Janizaries.'[3] As a matter of fact, Russia appears to have returned to something like this condition since she got rid of the Tsars in 1917.

Monarchy is a profession, only differing from ordinary professions in being more strictly hereditary. The monarchs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took their profession very seriously. They paid themselves well for their work, but most of them worked hard. Peter rose at four o'clock in the morning, and spent the day in furious labours—engineering, drilling troops,

[1] Motley, op. cit.

ship-building, dictating to secretaries, yachting. As a boy he had learned to yacht on the river Yausa that flows by Moscow. Long before he had ever seen the sea he had grasped the fact that sea-power and sea-faring are the indispensable conditions of European civilization.

Peter had his friends. A solitary man could not have lifted the dead weight of his empire from the east to the west. He had many comrades: he assembled and trained (and was trained by) a whole school of councillors. The first was a young Swiss clerk, turned soldier. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were opportunities for talent, as indeed there always are. Moreover the existence of many Courts of enlightened despots who did not fear to run counter to local prejudices gave scope for adventurers who should chance to attract the fancy of a despot. Lefort, the Swiss, was such an adventurer. Born in 1655, he was brought up in the thriving, but rather parochial, city-state of Geneva. Finding the career of a clerk in a merchant's counting-house too small for him, he enlisted in a volunteer regiment, served in the Low Countries, and became known as a good officer. A Russian recruiting agent induced him to go to Archangel; from there he found his way to Moscow and got into Peter's service in 1690. Lefort was still a comparatively young man, enthusiastic, with keen powers of observation, like all Swiss a good linguist, clear headed, capable. There were others like him: all capable, all strong in will, like Gordon, the Scotsman, or Mentschikoff, the Russian. Peter took some of his councillors with him when he went abroad in 1697, to Zaandam, to London, Oxford, and back to Russia by way of Vienna. It was just after this that his long duel with Charles XII began.

§ 3. *Charles*

Charles XII of Sweden was born in 1682, and at the early age of fifteen succeeded his father, Charles XI. Nearly all the kings of the house of Vasa died young. Gustavus Adolphus was killed at Lützen at the age of thirty-seven; his daughter, Queen Christina, lived to the age of sixty-three, but abdicated the throne

in 1654, when twenty-eight years old; Charles X, like all the Vasas a brilliant warrior, died at the height of fame at the end of a long war with Poland and Denmark, at the age of forty-seven in 1660; and Charles XI, careful administrator, father of Swedish industries, and sound diplomatist, died at the age of thirty-seven.

When Charles XII came to the throne, his neighbours, the sovereigns of Denmark, Russia, and Poland, conspired to attack him. They had their reasons: Russia had claims to the Baltic provinces of Ingria and Carelia, which Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden had won by arms in 1616 (Treaty of Stolbova). Poland had a claim to Lithuania, another Baltic province which Gustavus Adolphus had gained in 1629 (Treaty of Altmark), and which, after a subsequent war, had been solemnly declared to be Sweden's, by the Treaty of Oliva, 1660, between Charles XI of Sweden and John Casimir of Poland. Denmark had a cause of quarrel owing to the friendship between the Swedish Government and the Duke of Holstein, a duchy, once Danish, which the King of Denmark wished to recover.

Charles, like a healthy young man, was fond of hunting and of military exercises, but on coming to the throne he displayed little interest in political affairs. Yet when the design of the three northern Courts—Denmark, Poland, and Russia—was made known to him, he suddenly became a new man. A Council was being held: the youthful king had made one of his rare appearances, and was sitting with his legs on the table, and a distant, tired expression on his face. The grave generals and ministers alluded to the hostile preparations of the three Courts. At once Charles sat up; an air of seriousness and, at the same time, of confidence, came over his countenance. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'I am resolved never to make an unjust war, but never to cease from a lawful war except at the destruction of my enemies. My decision is made; I will attack the first who declares war.'[1] He was as good as his word. In May 1700 he started a combined land and water campaign from his base in Germany, the Swedish province of Western Pomerania. Soon an astonished Europe heard that Copenhagen itself had been forced to surrender, after

[1] Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII*, Livre II, at the beginning.

CHARLES XII King of SWEDEN.

Charles in person had led a force against it, wading from his ship's boat to the shore, shoulder deep in water.

It was the Tsar's turn next. Peter had a large army, and he was trying to organize it on the best European model; but it was still more than half Oriental; the quiver and the bow were more common in it than the powder-bag and the musket. Charles marched through his province of Livonia into Esthonia, and met Peter's forces at Narva: he had 8,000 Swedes against 80,000 Russians. The Russian army was routed, and its best generals made prisoner (20 November 1700).

The King of Poland, who was also known as Augustus II, Elector of Saxony, was the next to experience the prowess of this northern Alexander. Poland was a huge kingdom with a numerous, warlike, but undisciplined aristocracy. Charles was to prove the truth of Machiavelli's saying that a country of free nobles is easy to conquer but difficult to hold. The Polish armies were beaten; Warsaw was captured; King Augustus was forced to flee. But the years slipped past, and Charles found himself still fighting.

In 1706 he advanced into Saxony by way of Silesia: the Empire protested against the violation of Austrian territory in vain. At last Augustus was forced to own himself beaten and came to Charles's camp at Altranstädt. Augustus was one of the most handsome and luxurious men of his time; he was then aged thirty-six. Charles was twenty-three, bronzed, keen-looking, every inch a soldier; he took no pains to put on the regal grandeur which Augustus bore. He dressed habitually in a blue tail-coat with gilt buttons, and he always appeared in large serviceable riding boots. At Altranstädt the two monarchs conversed without any elaborate form, and Charles's straightforward methods soon brought matters to a settlement. Augustus had to renounce the crown of Poland, leaving the field free for a new king. This was Stanislaus Leszczynski, a brave, serious-minded young Polish nobleman, with whom Charles had made friends.

To Altranstädt came also the Duke of Marlborough, who left for the moment his high command in the War of the Spanish

Succession, in order to induce Charles not to intervene in western affairs. Marlborough was the first captain of the age, but Charles, born soldier though he was, took little interest in him: the Duke

was too well dressed, too fashionable, for the hardy Charles. Marlborough, however, was quite satisfied with his visit, for he found that Charles was bent upon making another campaign against Russia, and was not going to do anything to help Louis XIV. So the War of the Spanish Succession went on in the west, and the

great Northern War went on in the Slavonic region: this is the last time in history that hostilities have occurred in separate parts of Europe without spreading from one to the other and becoming general.[1]

Charles's next campaign was fatal. He had resolved to invade Russia so as to finish off the war by taking Moscow. One hundred and four years later, Napoleon, when preparing to carry out a similar plan, asked a Russian envoy what was the best route by which to advance into Russia. 'Sire,' replied the envoy, 'there are several ways of invading Russia: Charles XII took that by Pultava.' The invasion which the Swedish king made by that route was a warning to all who came later.

Charles had a fine, though small, army. He did not, however, mean to invade Russia unsupported. The Cossacks of the Ukraine, under their Hetman, Mazeppa, were going to rise and join him. The campaign is one of the wonders of the world. Charles with 40,000 Swedes, having marched through Poland, crossed the Russian frontier at Michanowich, on the 1st October 1708. Slowly and steadily he advanced in the long Russian winter, although many of his soldiers succumbed to frost-bite—losing hands, noses, ears. By May 1709 the Swedes, now reduced from 40,000 to 20,000, laid siege to the Ukranian fortress of Pultava, garrisoned by Russian troops. Peter was coming up with an army, not the half-drilled host which had collapsed at Narva, but a new model army, trained on the lines of the Swedes themselves. The fatal battle took place on the 26th June 1709. Nearly everything on the Swedish side was already exhausted—powder, food, physical strength, everything except the heroic spirit of the men and their leader. Spirit, however, was on the Russian side too, the titanic energy of their Tsar. The Swedish army was all but annihilated. The remnants had to surrender two days later.

Charles himself escaped southwards to Bessarabia, at that time a Turkish (subsequently a Russian, now a Rumanian) province. There, in the town of Bender, he lived for four years, trying to rule Sweden from afar, and at the same time to keep the Turks

[1] See Treitschke, *Politics* (trans., 1916), ii. 573.

stirred up against the Russians. Meanwhile Peter conquered all the Baltic provinces of Sweden except Finland. Augustus of Saxony recovered his lost kingdom of Poland; and the King of Denmark, Frederick IV, attacked Sweden from Norway. The captains—Count Magnus Stenbock was the best—whom Charles had left at home, kept Sweden itself safe: but almost all her territories across the Baltic were lost. One great opportunity came and went, for Charles, in 1711, when a Turkish army caught Peter's invading forces on the Pruth River, and could have annihilated them. Peter was saved not by war but by diplomacy; the Grand Vizier, Baltaji Mehemet, agreed (to the amazement of everybody) to allow the Russian army to retire, on condition of giving up all recent conquests from the Turks. A large bribe of money from the Russian side had something to do with the Grand Vizier's decision.

The Treaty of the Pruth allowed Charles a free passage from Bender to his own dominions. He was not willing to take it, but the Turks wanted to get rid of him. He refused to go until the Turkish Government sent a corps of Janissaries and made him a prisoner (1713). In 1714 he returned to Sweden with his faithful companions, by way of Hungary, Austria, Nuremberg, and Cassel, and arrived at Stralsund, in Swedish Pomerania, at midnight on 20th November. There he took up the apparently interminable war with the Northern League. Peace he would never make, unless he got his territories back: his spirit was unbroken, his resolution intact. Even yet, when he was present, his exhausted, war-weary soldiers were almost invincible. In 1718 he was the attacking party, invading the Danish dependency of Norway, so as to have a 'pledge' with which to force his enemies to an equitable peace. On the 12th December 1718 he was shot dead in the Swedish trenches in front of the Norwegian fortress of Frederikssteen, at the age of thirty-six.

> His fall was destined to a barren strand,
> A petty fortress and a dubious hand.
> He left the name at which the world grew pale
> To point a moral, or adorn a tale.[1]

[1] Johnson, *The Vanity of Human Wishes.*

Charles was the last of a line of grand kings. He is, *par excellence*, the hero-king of the eighteenth century. Only one other can compare with him, Frederick the Great of Prussia. But Frederick, with his many splendid qualities, was too much of a schemer to be a real hero. Charles was a simple, straightforward man. In an age of sensual monarchs he was austere, abstemious, chaste. Attacked unjustly by his neighbours, he conceived the idea that no compromise must ever be made with his despoilers. It was this lack of moderation that ruined him. It was also want of the healing quality of compromise that made him put to a horrible death by the wheel the Livonian nobleman, Patkul, who, being technically a Swedish subject, had come under a charge of high treason (1707).

Yet if Charles XII has been blamed for pursuing war without ceasing, it must be remembered that he was no aggressor. He had sworn that he would not make an unjust war, and he never swerved from this. Had he lived a few years longer the peace which Sweden had to make in 1721 would undoubtedly have been made, but on more favourable terms. And then Charles might have returned to the Swedish capital, which he had never seen since the year 1700, and inaugurated a new reign of peace. The touching memorials of this—the last of the Vasas—his glove, whip, riding-boots—are in the National Museum at Stockholm.

§ 4. *Peter Again*

Peter had conquered. His ferocious energy had galvanized his vast, lethargic people into energy. His tailors had stood at the gates of Moscow, snapping with their great scissors the Oriental petticoats and the long beards of the men. He had made himself, like Henry VIII, head of the National Church. He had created a vast corps of civil servants who were to carry on the administration of Russia for the next two centuries. He had made a new capital: the seat of the Tsars was no longer to be land-locked, half-eastern Moscow, but Petersburg, a city of wide streets and large public buildings, on the banks of the Neva, within call of the sea.

In relation to Western Europe, Russia had become a Power. She had defeated the best soldiers of the day. And by the Peace of Nystad, which Charles XII's sister, Queen Ulrica Leonora, concluded on the 30th August 1721, Sweden ceded to Russia the Baltic territories of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and a part of Finland. Brandenburg had already secured the Swedish Pomeranian port of Stettin.

Peter the Great died at Petersburg on the 8th February 1725, at the age of fifty-three. He had spent the last months of his life in inspecting canals and iron-works which were being constructed in the neighbouring region. Yet he was by no means of a materialistic nature. His last words, painfully scrawled on a piece of paper, were 'forgive everything' OTDAĬTYE VSYŎ (отдайте всё). In the novel *Peter and Alexis*, Dmitri Merezhkowski (born 1865) has told with exquisite art the tragic drama played around Peter's throne. The courtiers, the guards, the officials, the artisans, above all the dominating figure of the Tsar, impress themselves through the living words of that book, as they impressed themselves on the course of history. The history of modern Russia is the history of the Tsardom which, through its widespread bureaucracy, brought order and civilization into Russia, and by grafting the culture of the West on to the native genius of the Slav, made possible the high Russian art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Supplementary Dates.

VII

1643 Mézeray's History of France.
1659 Molière's first masterpiece, *Les Précieuses ridicules.*
1666 Boileau's *Satires.*
1667 Racine's *Andromaque.*
1670 Bossuet's first *Oraisons funèbres.*
1684 Death of Corneille.
1694 St-Simon begins his *Memoirs.*
1699 Fénelon's *Télémaque.* He is banished from court.
1708 Lomonosov's ode on the capture of Hotin from the Turks.
1709 Demolition of Port-Royal.
1715 Lesage's *Gil Blas.*

VIII

TWO ARISTOCRATIC REPUBLICS

§ 1. *Open and Closed Aristocracies*

Holland (or the United Netherlands, as it was officially called) and Venice were aristocratic republics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Literally, aristocracy means government by the *best* people; in actual practice, however, it has lost its ancient Greek sense, and has come to mean the government of a people by its upper class.

On the whole, this system has proved to be a good form of government. It has been superior to despotism. A good despot, like Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius or Peter the Great, is a benignant power; but the accident of birth may place on an hereditary throne a less good man, perhaps even a human monster, like Caligula, or a reckless debauchee, like Louis XV. On the other hand, a whole class of people, a nobility of birth, like that of Venice, or an aristocracy of commerce, like that of Holland, are unlikely to become degenerate all at once: there are always some good and capable men in every large body; and the good and capable are the people who tend to exercise authority in an aristocracy. Moreover, an aristocratic class is usually alert to notice talent outside its own circle, and to attract that talent into its own body. It was in this way that the eighteenth-century Whigs maintained their ascendancy in England: they were a group of ruling families, Russells, Cavendishes, Grenvilles, but they had the sense to attract into their circle talented men from the outside, a Pitt, a Fox, a Burke.

The English aristocracy was acknowledged to be the finest in the world, well born, wealthy, enjoying great privileges, and animated by a sense of responsibility. The members of the English aristocracy worked at the business of estate-management, as, for instance, did 'Turnip Townshend' (1674–1738) who was a Viscount and 'old Coke of Norfolk' (1752–1842) who eventually

became an Earl; and they worked at the business of government, as did the Duke of Newcastle (1693–1768), who left office poorer than he entered it, or the younger Pitt (1759–1806) who was bred to be Prime Minister and held the office for twenty years. Its real glory, however, as Burke and Alexis de Tocqueville both testify, was that it was an open aristocracy: men of talent from the outside world got into it: it could admit at any rate a proportion, if not all, of the best brains of the nation.

It was likewise this quality of openness that marked the Dutch aristocracy, and saved it from being, as the Venetian aristocracy was, really an *oligarchy*. For the Dutch ruling class were burghers of wealth and strong character; and any Dutchman who made a fortune and possessed ability and character could gain admittance to the ruling class. It was otherwise in Venice; for about the year 1287 (the date is uncertain) the Venetian Government had inscribed the names of all the noble Venetian families in a Golden Book, and had then closed it. Nobody whose family name was not in the Golden Book could be a Councillor, and new names (with some exceptions) were not added to the Book. Thus the *Serrata del Consiglio* converted the Government of Venice into a closed aristocracy, a ruling class which did not admit new members, a caste.

§ 2. *The United Provinces of the Netherlands*

The Constitution of the United Provinces was created by the Union of Utrecht, 1579, just after the ten 'Belgic' or Southern Provinces had seceded from the War of Liberation and had made their peace with Spain. The Seven Northern Provinces formed a Confederacy with the central authority vested in a States-General, or Federal Parliament. The chief executive officers were the Captain-General and the Admiral-General. At certain periods there was a Stadtholder appointed for the whole Confederacy; at other times the chief magistrate of the Province of Holland, who was called the Pensionary, practically wielded executive authority for the whole Union. The Princes of the House of Orange, although without any hereditary authority, usually held

a commanding or at least influential position, and were always called upon for leadership in times of danger.

The Dutch Constitution was extremely loose—

> To speak properly (wrote the great jurist Pufendorf about 1660), these Seven Provinces do not make up one entire Commonwealth, but there are seven Commonwealths, which by the Union at Utrecht are joined into one Confederacy, and have their deputies constantly residing at the Hague; whose business it is to take care of such affairs as concern the whole Union; and if anything of moment is to be decreed, they send to the several Provinces, and according to the approbation of these they make their decrees; these deputies are called the States-General.[1]

Each province could send as many delegates or deputies as it liked to the States-General, but they only counted as one voice: for the federal principle of government means that each of the component provinces is equal to any other. Each province also had an assembly, called, for example, the States of Holland, or the States of Zeeland. Every city sent from its city council deputies to the Provincial States; and the assembly of every Provincial States sent deputies to the States-General. The delegates were mainly drawn from the burghers of the cities: good middle-class families, whose wealth and position depended upon their own efforts. They came very near to the ideal of aristocracy, as defined by Montesquieu in *L'Esprit des Lois*:

> The aristocratic families should be *people* as much as possible. The closer an aristocracy approaches to the democracy, the more perfect it will be.[2]

From 1579 to 1713, from the Union of Utrecht to the Peace of Utrecht, the Dutch had a very troubled history, in spite of which they managed to go on prospering. In 1609 the War of Independence was suspended by the Twelve Years Truce with Spain (see above, p. 422). From this date, until the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, there was peace for the Dutch abroad, although at home trouble was caused by religious dissensions, not between Catholic and Protestant but between those Calvinists

[1] *An Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe*, by Samuel Pufendorf (English trans., 1728).

[2] *L'Esprit des Lois*, Book II, Chap. III.

A Dutch East Indiaman

From an engraving by Hollar in the British Museum

who adhered to the strict theory of predestination and those—the Arminians, followers of Arminius of Leyden—whose theory of fatalism was not so inflexible. The strict Calvinists believed that God had made an eternal decree, determining which persons should be awakened to repentance and faith and therefore to salvation. The Arminians held that Christ died for all men, and that all who believed in Him would be saved. God, however, foreknew who would believe and who would therefore be saved.[1] In the course of disputes, the noble Arminian statesman, Jan van Olden Barneveldt, was executed on false charges (1619). The Thirty Years War, in which the Dutch became involved in 1621, put an end to internal dissensions; and, in spite of the execution of Olden Barneveldt, Arminianism became the type of Dutch Calvinism.

In the Thirty Years War the Dutch, under the Stadtholder, Frederick Henry, a brother of Maurice of Nassau (and son of William the Silent and grandson of Coligny), fought against Spain on the Lower Rhine, and in the end won complete recognition of their independence by the Spanish-Dutch Treaty of Münster, January 1648.

After the Thirty Years War was ended, civil dissension broke forth between the *Burgher* and *Orange* parties in the Netherlands. The burghers were firm upholders of provincial independence within the Confederation, and they were particularly strong in the Province of Holland. The adherents of the House of Orange (which was very popular with the lower classes of the population) believed in a policy of centralization and wished that a prince of Orange should always have high military command. As long as war was going on the burghers acquiesced in the predominant position of the Orange family; but when hostilities ceased they always opposed it.

In 1650, as peace was prevailing, the burghers proposed to disband a number of regiments. The head of the House of Orange

[1] Jacobus Arminius was Professor at Leyden from 1603 to 1606. He had studied under Theodore Beza, the colleague of Calvin, at Geneva. After returning from Geneva to Holland, he reconsidered his views on Predestination, and entered on the Arminian controversy. In England in the seventeenth century, a Churchman who disagreed with the Calvinistic Puritans, for instance Laud, was called an Arminian.

' The Stadtholder, Frederick Henry, a brother of Maurice of Nassau'

From an engraving after the painting by Vandyke

was now William II, son of Frederick Henry (who had died in 1647). William refused to have the regiments disbanded, and he seized the Sieur de Witt, burgomaster of Dort, along with other prominent burghers, and imprisoned them in the Castle of Louvestein, on the island of Bommel (where Grotius had been imprisoned thirty years earlier). He then ordered troops to march by night against the city of Amsterdam to take it by surprise, but they were discovered on the way by the Hamburg post-boy. The Amsterdam burghers saved the city by opening the sluices. Soon after this William II caught a fever and died (6 November 1650) a week before the birth of a son who was destined to be famous. The death of William II enabled the burgher-party to triumph, and for the next twenty-two years they were supreme in the Netherlands.

Those twenty-two years (1650–72) were perhaps the most prosperous period of Dutch history. The whole Confederacy of the Seven Provinces allowed itself to be guided by the Province of Holland, whose Grand Pensionary gained practically the position of a Federal Prime Minister. The Grand Pensionary at that time was John de Witt, a son of that burgomaster of Dort whom William II had imprisoned in Louvestein. Under John de Witt Dutch commerce, which had for fifty years been carrying on operations in India, spread to North and South America, and to South Africa. A serious dispute with England about the Navigation Act of 1651 led to a naval war between the two peoples who ought to have been the closest of friends. In 1667 the Dutch had to face the greater power of France, because Louis XIV, by over-running the Spanish Netherlands (see p. 456) menaced the independence of the Seven Provinces. This dispute was made immensely more serious because at the same time Charles II of England had also embarked on a naval war against the Dutch. In this war the Dutch navy covered itself with glory, for it sailed up the Medway, burned Sheerness, and just failed to capture London. De Witt used this success to bring about a treaty of peace with England (1667). The English kept New Amsterdam, which they had captured in 1664 and renamed New York. In 1668 his diplomacy was able to join the Dutch

Government with its late enemy, Great Britain, along with Sweden in a *Triple Alliance* against France. This peace saved the Dutch. Louis XIV drew back and evacuated the Spanish Netherlands. So ended the first French war, which is called the War of Devolution because Louis had claimed, through his wife, devolutionary or hereditary rights in Brabant.

After this life in the Seven Provinces once more resumed its happy, even tenour. But again in 1672 the storm broke, this time with unparalleled fury. Louis XIV had bought over Charles II by the infamous Secret Treaty of Dover (1670). The might of the British Navy was directed against the Dutch. British troops under John Churchill (later Duke of Marlborough) fought on land along with the French troops under Turenne. The mob has a short memory. It forgot the services of the noble John de Witt and his brother Cornelius. The two de Witts were put into prison but the mob broke into it and tore them to pieces (1673). The young William III of Orange assumed the leader-

ship, and saved the State by arms and diplomacy. The Emperor and Brandenburg came to his assistance and formed (1672) the First Grand Alliance of the Hague. This alliance endured until the Peace of Nymwegen in 1678. Most of the rest of William's life was spent in combating Louis XIV.

In 1681 Louis XIV seized the Free Imperial City of Strasbourg. The unstable peace, however, lasted until 1686, when the League of Augsburg was formed by the chief States of the Empire to defend the Treaties of Münster and Nymwegen.

The war of 1686, which under the name of the War of the League of Augsburg lasted until 1697 (Treaty of Ryswick), and the next, the War of the Spanish Succession, which lasted from 1702 until 1713, were, for the Dutch, inevitable conflicts, on which their existence as a State depended. The result of the wars was that the advance of France towards the Rhine was checked; the former 'Spanish' Netherlands became the Austrian Netherlands; while on the frontier between the Austrian Netherlands and France a line of 'Barrier Fortresses' was established. These Barrier Fortresses were garrisoned by Dutch soldiers, but paid for by Austria. Lastly, to prevent the port of Antwerp from competing for the great sea-borne commerce of Amsterdam, the closure of the Scheldt (which had already been decreed by the Osnabrück Treaty of the Peace of Westphalia) was reaffirmed. No ships were to go to or from the sea on the Scheldt. Such were the provisions of the Peace of Utrecht (1713), so far as they concerned the Dutch.

The long wars were worth fighting, for they had saved the State, but at a fearful cost. The loss of Dutch lives had been serious, although greatly alleviated by the fact that the Government recruited many of its regiments from other countries: there was a Scots Brigade in the Dutch service until the time of the French Revolution. The financial cost of the wars against Louis XIV was almost more serious than the loss in lives. War taxation had to rise so high, that Dutch industry and commerce were crippled: capital which ought to have been invested in shipping and colonial enterprises was engulfed in the inevitable military budget. It was said that 'before you can get a dish

of fish ready dressed upon your table at Amsterdam, you have paid above thirty several taxes for it '.[1] It was the crippling cost of these long wars, not the Navigation Acts, that put Dutch commerce at a disadvantage as compared with English. It is only fair to remember this, for the sacrifice which the Dutch made in the wars was not merely for their own advantage, it was to the common benefit of England and of Germany, and indeed of all Western Europe.

Dutch painting was at its best in the seventeenth century. It developed locally. The hazy, humid atmosphere of the Netherlands was favourable for the study of colour ; the Dutch painters became masters of colours, harmonious, although not so brilliant as the colours of the Venetian painters. The Dutch artists owed very little to foreign influence : they scarcely ever went abroad ; Rembrandt, for example, the greatest of them all, never went to Italy.

Rembrandt van Rijn was born at Leyden in 1606, the son of a miller. After studying at the University of Leyden, he took up the career of a painter at Amsterdam. He was devoted to his art, worked assiduously, painting as long as the daylight lasted, and feeding simply off a herring, or a piece of bread and cheese.[2] About six hundred pictures which are known to be by him have survived. The finest and best known is *The Marching out of Captain Frans Banning Cocq*, generally called the *Night Watch*, painted in 1642. It depicts the Captain and the town guard of Amsterdam leaving the Assembly-hall to go on their rounds. The carefulness, the self-reliance, the underlying romance of the Dutch character shines forth in the strong draughtsmanship and colouring of this work. The picture is in the Rijks-Museum at Amsterdam ; there is a reduced copy of it, by Gerrit Lundens, in the National Gallery at London (No. 289).

Another picture of Rembrandt's, which shows the scientific side of Dutch life in the seventeenth century, is the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp* ; in this a medical professor is seen discoursing over the arm of a dead criminal to seven members of

[1] Pufendorf, op. cit., 246.

[2] *The National Gallery*, by T. Leman Hare (1909), vol. i, p. 37.

the Amsterdam Guild of Surgeons. It was painted in 1632, and is in the Gallery at the Hague.

Rembrandt is one of the greatest portrait-painters in the world's history. Jacob Ruysdael (1628–82) is almost equally great in landscapes. He was born at Haarlem but worked chiefly at Amsterdam; he is, above all, the painter of trees and water, and quiet Dutch scenes where dark, brown tones predominate. Like him is Hobbema, who was born at Amsterdam in 1638 and died there in 1709.

In the National Gallery at London are many pictures of the Dutch School. Four in particular may be taken to illustrate the essentials of Dutch life in the seventeenth century. The first is *The Peace of Münster* by Gerard Terborch (1608–81), which is No. 896. It shows the Dutch delegation of diplomatists at Münster, in plain black clothes with white linen collars, surrounded by splendidly dressed Spaniards, ratifying the Final Peace with Spain on the 15th May 1648.

The second is a *Dutch Landscape* by Philips de Koninck (1619–89), No. 836. Here a wide extent of flat country is painted, with a slow stream, women washing clothes and a man fishing, and a few cottages in the foreground, trees and a little town with trees in the middle distance, and at the back water and flat land intermingled right up to the horizon.

A third is *The Court of a Dutch House* by Pieter de Hooch (who flourished about the year 1665), No. 835. The court is paved with bricks; on the left is a porch of lovely red and white brickwork, neat and solid; on the right, beneath a blossoming tree, a woman is leading a child down a step. The whole scene—court, passage, wall, figures—is as clean as a new pin. The Dutch passion for cleanliness is expressed in every detail.

The fourth picture is *The Avenue, Middelharnis, Holland*, by Hobbema, No. 830—a straight avenue of tall poplars enclosing a good road; a ditch to take off the water on either side of the avenue; a nursery for shrubs and trees on the right; a shady grove on the left, a church-steeple in the background; beyond the nursery a trim farm.

As the seventeenth century went on, the Dutch families

became more prosperous; a well-to-do merchant's house was a sort of salon where men of talent assembled. In *Sebastian van Storck* Walter Pater has described one of those homely gatherings of geniuses:

The Burgomaster van Storck entertained a party of friends, consisting chiefly of his favourite artists, one summer evening. The guests were seen arriving on foot—in the fine weather, some of them accompanied by their wives and daughters, against the light of the low sun, falling red on the old trees of the avenue and the faces of those who advanced along it. Willem van Aelst expecting to find hints for a flower-portrait in the exotics which would decorate the banqueting-rooms. Gerard Dow, to feed his eye, amid all that glittering luxury, on the combat between candle-light and the last rays of the departing sun; Thomas de Keyser, to catch by stealth the likeness of Sebastian the younger. Albert Cuyp was there, who, developing the latent gold in Rembrandt, had brought into his native Dordrecht a heavy wealth of sunshine, as exotic as those flowers or the eastern carpets on the Burgomaster's tables, with Hooch, the indoor Cuyp, and Willem van de Velde, who painted those shore-pieces with gay ships of war, such as he loved, for his patron's cabinet. Thomas de Keyser came, in company with his brother Peter, who afterwards married the niece. For the life of Dutch artists, too, was exemplary in matters of domestic relationship, its history telling many a cheering story of mutual faith in misfortune. Hardly less exemplary was the comradeship which they displayed among themselves obscuring their own best gifts sometimes, one in the mere accessories of another man's work, so that they came together to-night with no fear of falling out, and spoiling the musical interludes of Madame van Storck in the large back parlour. A little way behind the other guests, three of them together—son, grandson and the grandfather, moving slowly, came the Hondecoeters—Giles, Gybrecht and Melchior. They led the party before the house was entered by fading light, to see the curious poultry of the Burgomaster go to roost; and it was almost night when the supper-room was reached at last. (*Imaginary Portraits.*)

> 'In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch
> Is offering too little and asking too much.'

wrote Canning a hundred years or so later. This couplet expresses—unfairly and in exaggerated language—the careful, commercial side of the Netherlands. But they had, and have, their romantic side too; their paintings show this: look at *The Laughing Cavalier* by Frans Hals, in the Wallace Collection.

§ 3. *Venice*

Of the many beautiful cities of the world, Venice is perhaps the loveliest. Ruskin, in the *Stones of Venice*, at the end of Chapter XXX, and the beginning of Chapter XXXI, describes a journey of the old style into the city from Padua. For the first sixteen miles the journey is by road which crosses the Brenta and goes to Mestre ; for the last seven miles from Mestre to Venice, the way is by gondola along a canal :

> Stroke by stroke we count the plunges of the oar, each heaving up the side of the boat slightly as her silver beak shoots forward. We lose patience, and extricate ourselves from the cushions : the sea-air blows keenly by, as we stand leaning on the roof of the floating cell. In front, nothing to be seen but long canal and level bank ; to the west, the tower of Mestre is lowering fast, and behind it there have risen purple shades, of the colour of dead rose-leaves, all round the horizon, feebly defined against the afternoon sky—the Alps of Bassano.

Two turns in the canal bring the traveller nearer : ' now we can see nothing but what seems a low monotonous dockyard wall, with flat arches to let the tide through it—this is the railroad bridge.' Soon, there arise ' four or five domes, pale, and apparently at a greater distance . . . It is Venice.'

An island in a shallow lagoon, Venice has the appearance of being in the deep sea. ' The salt breeze, the white, moaning sea-birds, the masses of black weed separating and disappearing gradually, in knots of heaving shoal, under the advance of the steady tide, all proclaimed it to be indeed the ocean on whose bosom the great city rested so calmly.'

The boat draws nearer to the city : the mainland coast, left behind, sinks ' into one long, low, sad-coloured line, tufted irregularly with brushwood and willows, ' behind which are the hills of Arqua and the great girdle of the Alps. Again, turning his back to these, the traveller would cast his eye forward to the campaniles of Murano, glittering in the sun, and to the great city, ' where it magnified itself along the waves ', as the quick, silent pacing of the gondola drew nearer and nearer. Then the boat enters, not through a towered gate, but through a deep inlet

Venice. S. Giorgio Maggiore

Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart

between two rocks; and the traveller sees 'the long ranges of columned palaces', each with its black boat moored at the portal, each with its image reflected in the green water below.

In former days these palaces were often scenes of great gaiety:

> Past we glide, and past and past!
> Why 's the Pucci Palace flaring
> Like a beacon to the blast?
> Guests by hundreds—not one caring
> If the dear host's neck were wried:
> Past we glide.[1]

When at last the boat 'darted forth upon a broad expanse of water, across which the front of the Ducal Palace, flushed with its sanguine veins, looks to the snowy dome of Our Lady of Salvation, it was no marvel that the mind should be so deeply entranced by the visionary charms of a scene so beautiful and so strange, as to forget the darker truths of its history and its being'.

These 'darker truths' refer chiefly to the method of government of Venice where, it is said, assassination was at times almost a normal part of the method of administration. For the authorities guarded with the greatest possible care against any chance of revolution: and every citizen who looked like becoming dangerous was quickly put out of the way. Certain it is that the Constitution of Venice was preserved, almost unchanged, for about a thousand years.

The nominal head of Venice was the Doge, who was elected for life. He represented the State on grand occasions, but had practically no power, except as a member of the *Collegio*.

This College was a Council or Cabinet of all the Ministers, who are called Savii or Wise men. Each Savio had a department to administer; but the Admiralty had a board of five, the *Savii da Mar*.

The legislative power in the State was wielded by the Senate, the *Pregadi* (the 'summoned' or 'called' men). This consisted of over two hundred elected members. It declared war and peace, made treaties of alliances, and passed laws.

There was a still larger Assembly, the *Maggiore Consiglio*, the

[1] R. Browning, *Dramatic Lyrics* (*In a Gondola*).

Venice. Palazzo Ducale. Grand Staircase

Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart

Great Council, consisting of all nobles over twenty-five years of age whose names were inscribed in the Golden Book, that is, who were included in the Golden Book of the *Serrata del Maggior Consiglio* (Closure of the Great Council) of 1287 and the subsequent additions. The functions of the Great Council, which had originally been legislative, were by the sixteenth century, merely to elect Senators and Magistrates.

The last organ of the Constitution which has to be mentioned was the *Consiglio de' Dieci*, the Council of Ten. This was the terrible body which tried cases of treason against the State and arranged for the quiet extinction of conspirators or dangerous citizens.

To conclude, the Government of Venice has all its springs chained together in perfect good order. In it we see so just a temperament, such an admirable reciprocation of superiority and dependence, that from thence results a perfect union, and a fervent zeal for the common welfare, which are the lasting foundations of the power and strength of the Republic. In it we have a perfect appearance of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. For the Majesty of a Sovereign shines in the person of the Doge, in whose name all dispatches and negotiations run. The *Pregadi* represent a real aristocracy, as the Great Council does a democracy.[1]

The Great Council or Assembly of all the Nobility, numbering perhaps five hundred, was democratic only in a very limited sense. All aristocrats are democratic towards each other. So it was with the Venetian aristocracy; but towards all the people below it was a close oligarchy.

The merits of the Venetian Government were its stability and its fund of experience. Stability of government ensured to the State the opportunity of steady, commercial prosperity; and the experience handed down from father to son in the governing families ensured a certain level of competence in the administration. These were the advantages which the population of Venice had to set against their lack of political rights.

Venice, being a comparatively small State, threatened by the Turks from Greece, by the Austrians from Carinthia, and by the Spaniards from Milan, defended herself by a careful diplomacy

[1] Pufendorf, op. cit., p. 588.

and by her valiant arms. She had to take part in the Italian Wars of France and Spain between 1494 and 1525. After this she was able, on the whole, to remain at peace in Italy, but had to face the terrible hosts of the Sultan Solyman the Magnificent. This monarch reigned from 1520 to 1566, and was almost equally powerful on land and sea.

After the death of Solyman, Venice, Pope Pius V, and King Philip II of Spain formed a Holy League and sent their galleys to sea. In the battle of Lepanto (the ancient Naupactus), 1571, the fleet of the League, which was under the supreme command of Don John of Austria, signally defeated the Turks. Cervantes, the future author of *Don Quixote* took part in the battle and was wounded. In the preface to *Don Quixote* he says that Lepanto was 'the noblest occasion that past or present times have witnessed, or the future can ever hope to see'. He lost a hand in the battle; but 'I would rather', he writes, 'be again present in that stupendous action than be whole and sound, without sharing in its glory.'[1]

[1] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, Part II, Preface.

Turkish sea-power was greatly diminished at this battle, but not destroyed. In the next century a twenty-five years' war between Venice and Turkey resulted in the loss of Candia by the Venetians (1669). A French gentleman, La Feuillade, at his own expense, equipped a company of three hundred soldiers, and took them to the defence of Candia. If, says Voltaire, in his *Siècle de Louis Quatorze*, the other nations had borne their share, like La Feuillade, Candia would have been delivered.[1] Fortunately, after their success at Candia, the Turks did little more, for the Sultans, after the death of Solyman the Magnificent (who died in 1566), were poor creatures, luckily for Europe, as its energies were fully absorbed in the Thirty Years War. It was not until after 1650 that the Turks, under a succession of able Viziers of the Kiuprili family, began to renew their assaults upon Europe. It was then that the Turks made their last gain of European territory (Candia); it was then also that they made their greatest effort, besieging, and all but capturing, Vienna.

Throughout this war the brunt of the attack was borne by Austria, although Venice was fighting hard to save Candia. By 1683 the Turks had conquered all Hungary, had invaded Austria itself, and were battering at the gates of Vienna. An Austrian garrison of 14,000 men had to hold the city, one of the most populous and most highly civilized places in Europe, against 140,000 Turks. And while pillage and destruction seemed likely to be the fate of Austria, perhaps of all Central Europe, Louis XIV of France was actually co-operating with the Turks, by invading Imperial territory on the Rhine. Vienna, with all that it stood for, was relieved by the Poles, who came down to the Danube, led by their heroic king, John Sobieski. In a great battle before the walls, the Turkish host was scattered (12 September 1683). This was the farthest point in Europe which the Turks ever reached.

After the relief of Vienna, Venice entered into another Holy League with Pope, Poland, and the Emperor Leopold I (1684). The Venetians had a fine General, Francesco Morosini, who had defended Candia. This time he had better fortune for between

[1] Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, Chap. X.

1684 and 1689 he conquered the whole Peloponnese (or Morea), and even invaded Attica and captured Athens. It was in the siege of Athens by Morosini (1687) that a large part of the Parthenon was destroyed by artillery-fire. At the Peace of Carlowitz, 1699, when Austria recovered Hungary from the Turks, Venice retained the Morea. Unfortunately in the next war (1715–18) she was not successful, although her allies, the Austrians, under Field-Marshal Prince Eugene, won splendid victories on the Danube. At the Peace of Passarowitz, 1718, Austria gained Belgrade,[1] but the Turks recovered the Morea.

For the rest of its history, Venice took little part in European politics. The city was famous for its beauty, for its rich and cultivated aristocracy, and chiefly for the pleasures which could be obtained there: it was the Monte Carlo of the eighteenth century. Commercially it was no longer very important, for the Cape Route diverted to Portugal, England, and Holland the bulk of the trade of the Indies; and the Turks impeded all the land-routes from the East. But as a city of pleasure all the world knew about Venice, and all the world of fashion went there. In Voltaire's novel of *Candide*, published in 1758, there is a celebrated scene where five kings, exiled from their native countries, meet unknown to each other at the Carnival of Venice.

When all the servants had gone, the six foreigners, Candide and Martin remained in deep silence. At last Candide broke it by saying: Sirs, this is an extraordinary joke! Why are you all Kings? As for me, I must confess that neither Martin nor myself are kings.

Cacambo's master then spoke gravely and said in Italian: 'I am not joking. My name is Achmet III. For several years I was the grand Sultan: I dethroned my brother; my nephew dethroned me; my Viziers were murdered. I am ending my life in the old Serrail. My nephew the Grand Sultan Mahmoud sometimes allows me to travel for my health. I have come to spend the Carnival at Venice.'

A young man who was near Achmet spoke next and said: 'My name is Ivan; I was Emperor of all the Russias. I was dethroned when in the cradle; my father and my mother were imprisoned; I was brought up in confinement; I sometimes have permission to

[1] In 1739 the Austrians had to retrocede Belgrade to Turkey.

travel with those who guard me, and I have come to spend the Carnival at Venice.'

The third said 'I am Charles Edward, King of England: my father has ceded to me his claim to the kingdom. I have fought to maintain it; 800 of my followers have had their hearts torn out—I have been put in prison; I am going to Rome to visit my father the King who was dethroned like myself and my grandfather, and I have come to spend the Carnival at Venice.'

The fourth then said: 'I am the King of the Poles;[1] the chances of war have robbed me of my hereditary estates; my father suffered the same reverses; I resign myself to Providence like the Sultan Achmet, the Emperor Ivan, and King Charles Edward, to whom may God grant a long life, and I have come to spend the Carnival at Venice.'

The fifth said: 'I am also the King of the Poles:[2] I have twice lost my kingdom; but Providence has given me another State in which I have done more good than all the Kings of the Sarmatians together have ever been able to do on the banks of the Vistula: I too resign myself to Providence and have come to spend the Carnival at Venice.'

There still remained a sixth monarch, and he said 'Gentlemen, I am not so great a lord as you; but as a matter of fact I have been a king as much as any of you. I am Theodore; I was elected King of Corsica; I used to be called "Your Majesty"—at present am scarcely called "Sir". I have had money coined and do not possess a farthing; I have had two Secretaries of State, and now I have scarcely a valet. I have seen myself on a throne, and have for a long time been in prison in London on a straw mattress. I am very much afraid of being treated in the same way here, although I have come, like Your Majesties to spend the Carnival at Venice.'[3]

The five other Kings listened to this speech with noble compassion. Each of them gave 20 sequins to King Theodore to procure suits and underlinen and Candide presented him with a diamond worth 2,000 sequins.

[1] Augustus III of Saxony, temporarily driven from his dominions by Frederick the Great, 1756.

[2] Stanislaus Leszczynski, see pp. 523–4.

[3] Theodore Neuhoff was one of the many interesting eighteenth-century adventurers. Born in Metz in 1669, he obtained employment from Cardinal Alberoni as a political agent. In 1736 he was elected King of Corsica in rebellion against their lawful ruler, the Republic of Genoa. Driven from Corsica, he came to England in the course of his wanderings, and was imprisoned from 1749–56 as a debtor in the King's Bench. He died in Chapel Street, Soho, in December 1756.

'Who is this plain private gentleman' said the five Kings, 'who is in a position to give a hundred times as much as any one of us, and gives it?'

At the moment of their leaving the table, four Very Serene Highnesses arrived at the same inn, and they too had lost their estates in the chances of war and had come to Venice to spend the Carnival. But Candide merely glanced at these new-comers.

The Venetian School of painters rose to fame much later than the Florentine, of whom the greatest was Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519). The first of the School in fact was not a Venetian, for Antonello da Messina, as his name shows, was born in the kingdom of Sicily. In 1483 Antonello came to Venice and took up his residence there. He had already painted his magnificent *Condottiere* which is now in the Louvre Gallery at Paris. Carlo Crivelli (1430–93) was a native Venetian, and confined himself almost entirely to sacred works. The splendid succession of what we called 'Painters of pageantry' began with the Bellini family, who were something of a class in painting as the Bachs were in music.[1] One of the finest of the Venetian paintings is also one of the earliest—the portrait of the Doge *Leonardo Loredano,* by Giovanni Bellini, done in 1503. It is No. 189 in the National Gallery. Loredano, who is depicted as an austere, laborious, noble man, was Doge from 1501 to 1521 when he died at the age of eighty-four. He had thus the task of piloting the ship of State through the troubled times of Pope Julius II and Leo X, and King Louis XII and part of the reign of Francis I.

The *Family Group* of Lorenzo Lotto (1480–1556)—No. 1547 in the National Gallery—represents a husband and wife sitting at a table with two children playing about it. The man is handsomely dressed, as befits a sober nobleman, in dark clothes; his golden-haired wife is splendid in a rich red dress. The embroidered table-cloth is one of the triumphant works of the fine North Italian craftsmen. Through the open window is a regular Venetian landscape, an estuary of the sea, two trees on a promontory, and hills in the distance.

[1] For over two hundred and fifty years, 1550 to 1800, the German family of Bach produced musicians. The greatest of them was Johann Sebastian Bach, 1685–1750.

Titian is the greatest glory of Venice. He was born in 1477 at Piave di Cadore, among the mountains to the north of Venice. He came into the city as a young man, and the rest of his long life was closely associated with it. All the Courts of Western Europe desired paintings by Titian. In 1548 he went into Germany, and at Augsburg painted *Charles V on horseback, at the Battle of Mühlberg*. This is in the Prado Museum of Madrid, where alone it can vie with the magnificent equestrian portraits of Velasquez. At the court of Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua in 1523 Titian painted the *Bacchus and Ariadne* which is No. 35 in the National Gallery: a superb, pagan picture, energetic, warmly coloured, vivid, so strong in passion that the eye and mind looks for relief to the tranquil Italian landscape in the distance. Titian died at Venice in 1576 at the age of ninety-nine. One of his pupils was Giorgione (Giorgio Barbarella), a young man of exquisite poetic feeling and deep love of nature. Giorgione's influence on those who followed was powerful, yet only a few genuine pictures of his own have come down to us. He died at Venice in 1511 at the age of thirty-four.

Jacopo Robusti, nicknamed Tintoretto, the Little Dyer, is the painter who has caught and conveyed to posterity the gorgeous scenes he saw on lagoon and piazza, in hall and church. Born in 1518, his active life covered the greater part of the sixteenth century—until 1594—the period of Venice's historical grandeur, of the siege of Candia, the battle of Lepanto, and the conquest of Morea. His *View in Venice*, No. 1054 in the National Gallery, happily includes all the typical things of Venetian life—palaces, gondolas, canal spanned by a graceful arched bridge, a square of dry land paved with large flag-stones, nobles in blue and red clothes sunning themselves upon it. A contemporary of Titian was Paolo Veronese (1528–88). Veronese's pictures, of biblical or classical subjects, are remarkable for their large size, their splendid colours, their dignified figures, and their noble architectural backgrounds. The most celebrated is the enormous *Marriage Feast of Cana in Galilee*, at the Louvre.

In the seventeenth century, Venetian art, like Venetian commerce, declined; but it arose again in the eighteenth century,

Charles V

From Earlom's engraving of the picture by Titian

with Tiepolo (1692–1769), and—to a lower degree—with Canaletto (1697–1768). A gorgeous picture of Tiepolo, of *Antony and Cleopatra* in the wonderful clothes of Venetian grandees is in the Edinburgh National Gallery. Canaletto was a fine painter of architecture; and as he lived at a time when all Europe came to the Carnival at Venice and wished to take home a substantial souvenir, his works are common in the great capitals—at London, Paris, Vienna, and Petersburg. Most of his pictures are scenes of canals, quays, churches, palaces; and all are highly pleasing. He came to England from 1746 to 1748 and left behind him a picture of Eton College, which is in the National Gallery (No. 942).

The painters and the architects were the glory of Venice, more even than her heroic sailors and soldiers who faced the terrible hordes of the Turk. It is chiefly to the buildings, which might be truly called heavenly, that our memory turns. Says Ruskin:

> Sometimes when walking at evening on the Lido, whence the great chain of the Alps, crested with silver clouds, might be seen rising above the front of the Ducal Palace, I used to feel as much awe in gazing on the building as on the hills, and could believe that God had done a greater work in breathing into the narrowness of dust the mighty spirits by whom its haughty walls had been raised, and its burning legends written, than in lifting the rocks of granite higher than the clouds of heaven, and veiling them with their various mantle of purple flower and shadowy pine.[1]

[1] *The Stones of Venice*, ad fin.

Supplementary Dates.

VIII

1606	Birth of Rembrandt.	1556	Death of Lorenzo Lotto.
1608	Birth of Terborch.	1576	Death of Titian.
1638	Birth of Hobbema.	1594	Death of Tintoretto.
1681	Death of Jacob Ruysdael.	1669	Venice loses Candia.
1689	Death of Philips de Koninck.	1687	Siege of Athens by Morosini.
		1689	Venetians complete the conquest of the Morea under Francesco Morosini.
1483	Antonello takes up his residence in Venice.	1768	Death of Canaletto.
1503	Giovanni Bellini's portrait of Doge Leonardo Loredano.	1769	Death of Tiepolo.

Venice. Rio Piccolo Trovaso

Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart

IX. THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

In the last two hundred years Prussia has had a prominent place in the life of Europe; and for about thirty years of that period from 1878 to 1914 she had a position almost of ascendancy. Her rise to power, however, was very slow.

The cradle of the royal family of Prussia was a little principality in South Germany near the borders of Wurtemberg and Bavaria. A younger son of this family about the year 1170 left the castle of High Zollern (Hohenzollern) and made a career for himself as Burgrave or Protector of Nuremberg. In 1417 the family of the Burgrave acquired Brandenburg by purchase from the Emperor Sigismund, who also gave them the dignity of Elector. The elder branch, which had remained at Hohenzollern, is almost unknown to history (although it supplied a sovereign to Rumania in 1856). The younger branch, the head of which was called Margrave of Brandenburg, ranked as moderately important German princes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Brandenburg was a fairly large State in North Germany, about 50 to 100 miles broad, and about 200 miles long, between the Elbe and the Oder. The country is flat and sandy: the Elbe and the Oder just touched its territory; the only river of any size, which it wholly controlled, the Spree, was useless for commerce until it could be canalized; there were no seaports. Berlin, the capital, at the time of the Thirty Years War, was a poorly

built city. The State of Brandenburg counted for so little in European affairs that Henry IV, when drafting his *Grand Design* in 1610, omitted to mention it altogether.

Farther east, on the coast of the Baltic, between the rivers Vistula and Niemen, a crusading Order, the Teutonic Knights, had in the Middle Ages conquered a large territory from the pagan Slavs. This territory the Teutonic Knights governed as a State of their own under the name of Prussia. In 1525 their

Grand Master was Albert, a member of the Brandenburg Hohenzollerns. He became a Lutheran, along with the majority of the Knights, and 'secularized' the State. It thus became the Duchy of Prussia, hereditary in the line of the first Duke, Albert of Hohenzollern. In 1618 his line became extinct; the Duchy of Prussia thus passed, by inheritance, to the Elector of Brandenburg.

In the Thirty Years War, George William, Elector from 1619 to 1640, did his best to remain neutral, but was drawn into the hostilities. In the war Brandenburg was devastated by friend and foe. The next Elector, however, Frederick William, who

reigned from 1640 to 1688, raised Brandenburg-Prussia to real prosperity, and is justly held to be the founder of its greatness. By sending his trained household officials to govern the various districts of his State he created the great Prussian bureaucracy which became the most efficient Civil Service in Europe. Almost his last act (he died on 9 May 1688) was to send troops to the Lower Rhine against Louis XIV, to cover the expedition that William III of Orange was making to England. Frederick William is thus one of the makers of the Protestant Settlement, the Revolution of 1688. He is justly called, by his own people, the Great Elector (*der Grosse Kurfürst*).

The next Elector, Frederick, was an extravagant ruler who tried to maintain a court on the model of Versailles. As a reward for siding with the Allies in the War of the Spanish Succession, he obtained from the Emperor Leopold I the dignity of King. Henceforth the Elector of Brandenburg was called King in Prussia, or King of Prussia (1701). It was in his reign that the University of Halle (1694) and the Berlin Academy of Science (1700) were founded. The philosopher Leibnitz (1646–1716) was a leader of this movement of enlightenment.

The son of King Frederick I was Frederick William I (1713–40). This monarch was a first-rate administrator. Returning to the frugal habits of the Electors before King Frederick I, he kept a modest court and household, and spent all his money on developing the State. The various provincial Boards of Administration were joined into one General Directory (1723) for all the Prussian dominions, which now included, besides Brandenburg and Prussia (East Prussia, it was now called), Magdeburg, Minden, Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg. The General Directory was responsible to the King for the whole financial and military administration.

Frederick William raised the Prussian Army to the enormous figure (for those days) of 80,000 men. About half the number was recruited abroad, and some were even kidnapped, as happened to Thackeray's sordid hero, Barry Lyndon. Yet the military King did little fighting, except by intervening in the war against Charles XII of Sweden, and so gaining Stettin at the

mouth of the Oder (from Swedish Pomerania) in 1720. Frederick William I was indeed no mere militarist. He was tolerant in his religious policy; he read foreign papers, which he got from Holland (for there were no newspapers in the kingdom of Prussia). But he drove the celebrated professor of philosophy, Johann Christian von Wolff, from the University of Halle for teaching a doctrine of 'pre-established harmony'. He schooled his people in a very direct and personal way, walking freely among them in the streets of Berlin, and beating them with his cane if they did not behave as he wanted.

Every evening the careful King got his councillors together for a smoke and a long talk about affairs of State. These regular discussions became known as Tobacco Parliament or Tabagie. Carlyle describes them in his *Life of Frederick the Great*:

A smoking-room—with wooden furniture we can suppose—in each of his Majesty's royal Palaces, was set apart for this evening service, and became the Tabagie of his Majesty. In summer season, at Potsdam and in country situations, Tabagie could be held under a tent: we expressly know, his Majesty held Tabagie at Wusterhausen nightly on the steps of the big Fountain, in the outer Court there . . . Any room that was large enough, and had height of ceiling, and air-circulation and no cloth-furniture, would do; and in each Palace there is one, or more than one, that has been fixed upon, and fitted out for that object. A high large Room as the engravings (mostly worthless) give it us: contented saturnine human figures, a dozen or so of them, sitting round a large long table, furnished for the occasion; long Dutch pipe in the mouth of each man; supplies of Knaster easily accessible; small pan of burning peat, in the Dutch fashion (sandy native charcoal which burns slowly without smoke) is at your left hand; at your right a jug, which I find to consist of excellent thin bitter beer. Other costlier materials for drinking, if you want such, are not beyond reach. On side-tables stand wholesome cold meats, royal rounds of beef not wanting, with bread thinly sliced and buttered: in a rustic but neat and abundant way, such innocent accommodations, narcotic or nutritious, gaseous, fluid and solid, as human nature bent on contemplation and an evening lounge, can require. Perfect equality is to be the rule: no rising or notice taken, when anybody enters or leaves. Let the entering man take his place and pipe without obligatory remarks: if he cannot smoke, which is Seckendorf's case, for instance, let him at least affect to do so, and not ruffle the established stream of things. And

so Puff, slowly Puff !—and any comfortable speech that is in you; or none, if you authentically have not any.

Old official gentlemen, military for most part; Grumkow, Dershau (Old Dessauer, when at hand), Seckendorf, old General Flans (rugged Platt-Deutsche specimen, capable of *tocadille* or backgammon, capable of rough slashes of sarcasm when he opens his old beard for speech): these, and the like of these, intimate confidants of the King, men who could speak a little or who could be socially silent otherwise,—seem to have been the staple of the Institution. Strangers of mark, who happened to be passing, were occasional guests; Ginckel the Dutch Ambassador, though foreign like Seckendorf, was well seen there; garrulous Pollnitz, who has wandered over all the world, had a standing invitation. King, high Princes on visit, were sure to have the honour. The Crown-Prince, now and afterwards, was often present; oftener than he liked—in such an atmosphere, in such an element. 'The little Princes were all wont to come in' doffing their bits of triangular hats, 'and bid Papa good-night. One of the old Generals would sometimes put them through their exercise; and the little creatures were unwilling to go away to bed.' (Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, Book V, Chap. VII.)

Frederick William did not understand his son who was later to be known as Frederick II, the Great. Frederick was a dreamy, sentimental prince, like many other young men, of high and low birth, in Germany at this time. They were all preparing that German renaissance, that *Aufklärung* or enlightening, which was to reach its highest development with Goethe at the end of the century. The young Frederick played the flute, made verses, liked talking (generally in French) with cultured people. His father's severe discipline galled him, and in 1730 he tried to run away from it. He was caught and condemned to death, and was only released on the urgent petition of foreign sovereigns. When Frederick II succeeded to the throne in 1740 he continued to play the flute and to make verses, but he embarked upon sterner work as well: and being clear-headed, methodical, and tirelessly energetic, he found time for everything.

The war in which he almost at once engaged was not creditable to his political morality. The Emperor Charles VI, the head of the House of Austria, had died in the same year as Frederick became King of Prussia. The Imperial crown was elective (and for five years it passed out of the Habsburg Line to Bavaria),

Frederick's kind treatment of the younger sons and daughters of the King of Poland after the taking of Dresden

Frederick despatching the order for a Te Deum after his victory at Torr

Engravings by D. Chodowiecki, who was Engraver to the King at the time

but the Austrian dominions were hereditary. Charles had bequeathed them all—Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia and the rest, with the Kingdom of Hungary—to his daughter Maria Theresa. He had, in 1720, established an Edict, called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, to secure this undivided succession to her; and all the chief States of Europe, including France, England, and Prussia, had promised to adhere to the Pragmatic. But Frederick II chose to break the Prussian promise, claiming that part of the Austrian dominions, the province of Silesia, was his by an ancient hereditary right. So in December 1740 he invaded Silesia.

In his *History of My Times* (Frederick was a considerable author) the King gives the various reasons for starting this momentous war. He states his claims very fairly, and concludes: 'Add to these reasons an army always ready to act, plenty of money in hand, and perhaps the desire of making oneself a name'[1]—this perhaps was the final cause. It is, at any rate, a frank statement. And so, as Macaulay says in his *Essay on Frederick the Great*, 'in order that he might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America.'

The Silesian War soon became general, and is now known as the War of the Austrian Succession. Prussia fought Austria; France took the Prussian side, and England (alone faithful to the guarantees of the Pragmatic) fought against France. The battles of Dettingen (1743) on the River Main and Fontenoy (1745) in the Austrian Netherlands, the first a victory, the second a defeat for the English, occurred in Europe while French and English troops were struggling for the mastery in India and Canada. Frederick, in the Silesian theatre of war, was successful against the Austrians; and when the final peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 he was left in possession of Silesia.

After the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Frederick turned to the task for which he was supremely fitted, of administering and developing his dominions. Silesia was absorbed into the Prussian

[1] *Histoire de mon temps*, par Frédéric le Grand, Chap. II.

system with remarkably little friction. It was a Protestant country. The Oder, which ran through the whole length of it towards the Baltic, linked the commercial interests of the province quite naturally with Brandenburg. The nobles, a capable, land-owning body of squires, were carefully favoured by Frederick and became loyal Prussians: 'nobles', the King wrote in his

THE HABSBURG MONARCHY IN 1740

Note. S. Salzburg, C. Croatia and D. Dalmatia.

Political Testament (1752), 'are the base and columns of the State.' Throughout the whole Prussian dominions Frederick did everything possible to encourage trade: he drained marshes, and settled families of peasant proprietors on the reclaimed land; he gave or lent money to establish cloth-manufactures; he dug canals. A code of justice was prepared on the best models by his great lawyer Cocceji, for 'Government rolls upon four principal points', wrote Frederick: 'upon the administration of justice, the wise management of the finances, the vigorous maintenance of military discipline, and finally the art of taking

the most suitable measures for promoting one's interests—this art is called Policy.' [1]

It was in 1752 that the King wrote the *Testament politique* (a splendid little treatise on government and politics in the French tongue), from which these words are taken. There was a quiet interval of about eight years between the Austrian Succession War and another war which Frederick knew was almost sure to come: for 'Austria has not forgotten Silesia', he wrote in the *Testament*. Meanwhile he did more than attend to the material prosperity of his dominions. He found time, not merely to write the *Testament politique*, but to engage in other literary work and to enjoy the society of men of letters. He built Sans Souci, 'an elegant commodious little Country-Box, quite of modest pretensions, one story high, on the pleasant hill-top near Potsdam, with other little green hills, and pleasant views of land and water, all round. . . . Tourists know this Cottage Royal: Frederick's three rooms in it; one of them a Library, in another a little Alcove with an iron bed—altogether a soldier's lodging.' [2]

Frederick had a great appetite for conversation: he talked well and listened well.[3] He induced Voltaire to come to his Court in 1750, and gave him a pension of £850 a year; but after two and a half years of intimacy the King and the man of letters quarrelled. A few years later, however, they made up the quarrel, and wrote to each other as long as they both lived.

During the interval of peace between the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War, the Diplomatic Revolution was being arranged. This was not exactly a *catastrophic* revolution, but it was sufficiently startling to create a sensation at the time. Ever since the days of Francis and Charles V, the French had been fighting against the Habsburgs, first in Italy, then on the Rhine and Scheldt. It was what French historians call a *secular struggle*; it went on from age to age.

After the loss of Silesia, however, the Austrian Chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, formed a design to put an end to the age-long hostility of Habsburg and Bourbon, and, instead, to make the

[1] *Testament politique de Frédéric II* (edition Teubner, 1920), p. 3.
[2] Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, Book XVI, Chap. I. [3] Ibid.

Frederick II, the Great

two dynasties into allies. This seemed to be an almost impossible plan when Kaunitz himself went to Paris, as Austrian Ambassador, in 1750. But he persuaded the French King, Louis XV, and the Ministers that it was to the advantage of both France and Austria; and thus on the 1st May 1756, the Habsburg-Bourbon Alliance (the Treaty of Versailles) was made. This was the Diplomatic Revolution.

There was nothing dishonourable about the alliance. Two Governments have a perfect right to make a treaty for mutual assistance. It is the expediency of the alliance that has been doubted. Austria it is true gained the support of a French Army for her effort to regain Silesia; and she got security for the Austrian Netherlands which, hitherto, in every European War, had been overrun by French troops. But what did France get? Many historians have said that the Habsburg-Bourbon Alliance only involved France in a continental war, when she should have been concentrating on a maritime and colonial war with England. The criticism is not sound. France was bound to be involved in continental war whether she made alliance with the Habsburgs or not; for if there was to be an Anglo-French maritime and colonial war (and this was certain) the English Government would be sure to arrange a European alliance for itself, to keep the French Army occupied by war in Europe. Besides, the French Government hoped, through being friends with Austria, to induce that Power to hand over these Austrian Netherlands which hitherto France had failed to gain by centuries of warfare.

Before France and Austria made their alliance, Great Britain and Prussia had already joined themselves together by the Convention of Westminster on the 16th January 1756. Thus all the great Powers, except Spain, were ready for war when Frederick of Prussia, who had no intention of waiting to be attacked, suddenly invaded Saxony (an ally of Austria) and occupied Dresden.

The Seven Years War thus began on the 29th August 1756 and lasted until the 15th February 1763. It was fought on three continents (Europe, Asia, and America), and on the sea. At sea the British and French Navies alone contended, until 1762 when

Spain became involved in the struggle on the French side. The result was virtually the annihilation of the French Navy, by the battles of Lagos and Quiberon Bay (both in 1759). In India, the forces of the English East India Company, led by Robert Clive, displaced the French East India Company from all power, and took its ' factories ' and settlements. The battle of Plassey (1757), fought by Clive against the Rajah of Bengal, gave the English control of that territory. The battle of Wandewash (1760), fought by Colonel Eyre Coote, completed the ruin of the French Company. In Canada, Major-General Wolfe took Quebec in 1759, and General Amherst took Montreal in 1760.

It was not lack of talent that ruined the French power overseas. Dupleix in India, Montcalm in Canada, were capable, energetic governors. Dupleix was a genius in administration; Montcalm had the same heroic qualities as his rival Wolfe. But the English gained command of the sea, and on this the fate of Canada and India, separated by the great oceans from France, obviously depended. It was William Pitt who saw most clearly the value of sea-power, and who arranged the masterly ' combined strategy ' (interrelated operations on land and sea) in the years from 1757 to 1761.

Frederick of Prussia was not so happily situated as the English. His was an almost land-locked State; its military and economic strength was pitted against France and Austria, the two wealthiest military Powers of Europe. Moreover, the Tsarina Elizabeth joined in the war, on the Austrian side, in 1757, and poured her armies over the open eastern frontier of Prussia. The help of England (an army of 20,000 men and a subsidy of £720,000 a year) was of enormous value to Frederick: yet even with this, the odds against him were tremendous.

It was in the agonies of the Seven Years War that Frederick II discovered to Europe the heroic qualities which gained him the name of Great. His armies were beaten, his capital, Berlin, was captured; yet he maintained the fight and won decisive victories, so that his defeats had little result. The battle of Rossbach (5 November 1757), the first victory of the Prussians over a French army, is justly famous in German history. The battle of Minden

(1 August 1759) was not one of Frederick's fights; it was the British Army's chief contribution to the common military effort. At Liegnitz, on the 15th August 1760, Frederick reasserted his dominion over Silesia against the Austrians.

The Russian Army had beaten Frederick at Kunersdorf in 1759 and taken Berlin in 1760. But on the 5th January 1762 the Tsarina Elizabeth died; her successor, Peter III, admired Frederick and made peace with him. A crisis of a somewhat similar nature had occurred in England. George II, an unswerving supporter of the war, died in 1760. His grandson, George III, thought that the objects of the war had been sufficiently gained; and therefore, against the advice of Pitt, he had Preliminaries of Peace signed with France, on the 3rd November 1762, and the Full Treaty of Peace signed at Paris, on the 10th February 1763. Frederick to his disgust was left alone, but his objects had really been obtained, for he had preserved his State and made good his hold upon Silesia. Therefore he too made peace at Hubertusburg in Saxony, on the 15th February 1763. He had proved himself to be the greatest king in Europe; and, meanwhile, the bulk of France's Colonial Empire had passed into English hands.

The rest of Frederick's reign was a period of reconstruction after the Seven Years War. The territories of Brandenburg and East Prussia especially had been severely ravaged. Frederick estimated that he had lost 180,000 men by fighting; and that from the indirect effects of hostilities 500,000 of the population of his dominions had perished. Judged even according to standards of recent wars, the Seven Years War was a gigantic struggle. Frederick's estimate of the total loss of soldiers of all the belligerents was 853,000.

In the misery and breakdown of government, produced by the war, the conditions that always attend these at once appeared: scarcity of commodities, high prices, and inordinate greed of gain: not the disciplined and regular pursuit of gain, which only helps on production and trade, but the heartless 'profiteering' which battens on bad times and the breakdown of government. As soon as peace came, however, Frederick's firm hand

The Russian War. Scene in Berlin on the arrival of the first Russian prisoners

From a contemporary etching by D. Chodowiecki

and fatherly care re-established normal conditions. The work of draining marshes, cutting canals, and ploughing up the waste spaces was resumed. Ruined husbandmen were restarted with stocks of tools and of grain. Factories were reopened; and the demands of the growing population gave them a good market. Carlyle quotes from the memories of one of the Royal Bailiffs a conversation which shows the King's methods. Frederick in 1779 inspected the moorland country, where there were large estates of the Crown, about twenty-five miles north-east of Berlin. It was near Fehrbellin, where the Great Elector gained a victory against the Swedes in 1675. Coming to a place from where the party could see the river Havel discharging itself into the Elbe below Havelberg, the King turned to his bailiff and spoke:

> Hear now, the tract of moor here to the left must also be reclaimed; and what is to the right too, so far as the moor extends. What kind of wood is there on it?
>
> *Bailiff.* Alders and oaks, Your Majesty.
>
> *King.* Na! The alders you may root out; and the oaks may continue standing; the people may sell these (the alders) or use them otherwise. When once the ground is arable, I reckon upon 300 families for it, and 500 head of cows—ha?
>
> *Bailiff.* Your Majesty, the Luch is still subject to rights of common from a great many hands.
>
> *King.* No matter for that. You must make exchanges, give them an equivalent. I want nothing from anybody except at its value.[1]

Trade and agriculture were not the King's only domestic concerns. He established or re-established schools everywhere, appointing as schoolmasters either retired army sergeants or else refugee Jesuits, after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773. Carlyle in Chapter I (Book II) of *Sartor Resartus* gives a pleasant picture of one of Frederick the Great's old sergeants.

In foreign affairs Frederick had still some difficult crises to deal with. He was continually desirous of maintaining good relations with Russia, and in 1764 made a treaty of alliance with that Power. Meanwhile the kingdom of Poland was in a condition of something very like anarchy; and grave disputes broke out

[1] Carlyle, *Life of Frederick the Great* ('A Day with Frederick').

between one section of the Poles, and Russia. The Turks, always ready to profit by the difficulties of the Powers, and anxious to prevent Russia from controlling all Poland, made war against Russia (1768–74). As it happened, Austria at this time was encouraging Turkey, so that the upshot of the whole affair would be an Austro-Russian War, with Turkey on the Austrian side, and Prussia (according to its treaty of alliance) on the Russian: that is to say, a European War on the grand scale, with all its incalculable losses and miseries, would ensue. King Frederick was now only desirous of maintaining the public tranquillity. The Empress Catherine of Russia suggested to his brother, Prince Henry, at Petersburg, that the rival Powers should sink their differences and agree to divide Poland (1771). Frederick acquiesced with alacrity; and in 1772 the First Partition of Poland was put into effect by arrangement between Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

Poland was not destroyed, but about one-fifth part of it was taken away, and distributed between the three Powers. Frederick got the smallest share, 'Polish Prussia', about 20,000 square miles: this was the part that just suited him, for it connected Prussian Pomerania with East Prussia. Austria got Galicia (62,500 sq. miles), and Russia got a slice of Eastern Poland (Polotsk, Mohilev), about 87,500 square miles.

About this famous First Partition of 1772 Carlyle, who always defends Frederick, makes three remarks: (1) that Frederick did not start the idea of partitioning Poland, but that, when it was proposed, he grasped it eagerly to save Europe from a general war; (2) that the partitioning itself would, but for Frederick's skilful diplomacy, have produced a European War; and (3) that the Partition was 'an inevitable event in Polish history': the anarchy of Poland brought upon the country its own doom.

Two more crises in foreign affairs had to be faced by Frederick. Both of these were concerned with the Emperor Joseph II of Austria, the son of Maria Theresa and Francis I. Joseph wished to round off and consolidate his dominions. A chance came on the 30th December 1777, when, with the death of the Elector Maximilian Joseph, the reigning line in Bavaria became extinct.

The heir was Charles Theodore, Elector of the Palatinate, the head of another branch of the Wittelsbach line. Early in 1778, the Emperor Joseph II occupied Bavaria with Austrian troops. Frederick of Prussia at once began war, and invaded Bohemia. For three months a Prussian and an Austrian army gazed at each other from entrenchments in the valley of the Elbe; but no fighting took place. The diplomatists were at work, and peace was made in a Conference of Prussian, Austrian, Saxon, French, and Russian plenipotentiaries, at Teschen, May 1779. Joseph II evacuated Bavaria, except one small district between the Inn and the Salza, which he was allowed to keep.

In 1785, the same trouble arose again. This time the Elector Charles Theodore of Bavaria agreed to the plan of Joseph II, which was that Austria should annex Bavaria, while the Bavarian Elector was to become King of the Austrian Netherlands. The new realm thus created was to be called the Kingdom of Burgundy. Again Frederick intervened. He formed a *Fürstenbund*, a League of German Princes, in defence of the existing territorial system of the Empire. Joseph II submitted: the 'Bavarian Exchange Question' was dropped. This was Frederick's last work. On the 17th August 1786 he died at Potsdam at the age of seventy-four.

Berlin fashions of the period

Supplementary Dates.

IX

1619 Accession of George William, Elector of Brandenburg.
1640 Accession of Frederick William 'The Great Elector'.
1675 The Great Elector's victory over the Swedes at Fehrbellin.
1688 Accession of the Elector Frederick (Frederick I).
1694 Foundation of Halle University.
1700 Foundation of the Berlin Academy of Science.
1713 Accession of Frederick William I.
1716 Death of Leibnitz.
1720 Frederick William annexes Stettin from Swedish Pomerania.
1723 Formation of the General Directory.
1729 Bach's *Matthew Passion*.
1740 Accession of Frederick the Great.
1742 Handel's *Messiah*.
1748 Klopstock's *Messias*.
1750 Voltaire takes up his residence at the Prussian Court.
1752 *The Political Testament* of Frederick the Great.
1786 Death of Frederick.

X

FRANCE AND SPAIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

'THERE is a European atmosphere. The same ideas are spread everywhere: they are all French, and find naturally in France their most perfect expression.'[1] Such is the judgement of Sorel on the pre-eminent position which France has occupied in the life of modern Europe. It was true of France in the age of Louis XIV; it was true of France in the eighteenth century. But there was a difference. In the age of Louis XIV not only French ideas, but also French power, were felt everywhere. Under Louis XV the ideas still had universal influence, but the power of France was not the same. Other governments could run counter to the policy of the French Government without paying dearly. France was still a great country, and was better managed than admirers of the French Revolution will admit. Nevertheless there was a lack of first-class ability in the governing class of France; and so this grand nation ceased to be chief in the councils of Europe. The First Partition of Poland proved this: the French, allies to Austria, looked on with folded hands.

The Constitution of France was that of an Absolute Monarchy. It was unwritten; consisting only of customs, it had altered as time went on. In the Middle Ages and in the sixteenth century there had been a representative Legislative Assembly, called the Estates General. This body, however, although still, in theory, an existing institution, had never been summoned to meet since the year 1614. There were, however, local Estates in some five of the French provinces, for instance in Languedoc and in Brittany. The French provinces were divided into two kinds: *pays d'élection* and *pays d'états*. The *pays d'élection* were ancient Royal Domains and were administered simply by officials. These

[1] Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, i. 147.

officials were at one time *elected* locally, but had now for centuries been simply appointed by the Central Government in Paris. The *pays d'élection* had no representative assemblies. The *pays d'état* had each an assembly of Estate, and to a certain extent governed themselves. There was still a third kind of province, namely those on the eastern frontier: for instance Metz was administered directly by the Ministry of War.

The central Government at Paris consisted of the King and the Ministers of Departments—War, Finance, the Navy, Justice, and the rest. The chief Minister was the Controller-General, the head of the financial system, which was an extremely complicated affair. There was no Cabinet. The King would hold a Council of all his Ministers if he chose to do so, but such meetings were comparatively rare, and were only held on very critical occasions. Instances of such meetings were 1551, when Henry II in Council made the momentous decision to attach Metz and so changed the whole course of French foreign policy (see above, p. 394) and 1700, when Louis XIV in Council at Fontainebleau decided to accept the will of Charles II of Spain, by which will Louis' grandson was to become King of Spain. This began the long War of the Spanish Succession. Besides these occasional Council-meetings, there was a permanent council of officials, the *Conseil du roi*, which met from day to day and transacted the ordinary business of the realm.

The link between the Government in Paris and the twelve provinces was the Intendant. There were thirty Intendants, each of whom was a sort of sheriff presiding over a large district. Nobles were never chosen for the post; capable young men of the professional class, sons of lawyers, doctors, and teachers, first of all would become clerks in the Controller's office, and then, if they rose in the service, would be sent out as Intendants to Limoges, Périgord, Auvergne, or elsewhere. France was full of different authorities which had come down from the Middle Ages: chartered towns, rural communes, noble fiefs with various rights, royal estates, abbeys, bishoprics; it is said that there were over three hundred various local customary codes of law. 'At the first glance thrown on the ancient administration of the realm,

everything there appears to be diversity of rules and of authority, entanglement of powers.' [1]

The administration was so 'tangled', that without the Intendants it would not have worked at all. They became a regular professional class, the most skilful and experienced men chosen out of the civil service, laborious, competent, the link between central and local affairs, the dispersers of uniform principles of administration, where all else was diversity and complication. 'Do you know', said John Law to the Marquis d'Argenson, 'France is governed by Thirty Intendants.' [2] The regulations of the Government were rigid, but the Intendants varied their application to suit local needs. 'There is the whole *Ancien Régime*: a rigid rule, an easy practice: such is its character.' [3]

When Louis XIV died on the 1st September 1715, the new King, Louis XV was only five years old. The Government was left in the hands of the late King's nephew, the Duke of Orleans, a clever, lazy, dissipated man for whom and whose friends the name of *roués* had been invented: they were so bad, it was said, that they deserved to be broken on the wheel. But Orleans, although he set a bad example of conduct, was in many ways a good Regent. Among his achievements was a treaty of alliance with France's late enemy, England.

France was not the only country ruled at this time by a Bourbon. The Habsburg line of Spain had died out in 1700, with King Charles II. He had bequeathed his dominions, Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, Sicily, and the Indies (South America) to the grandson of Louis XIV. Louis, in the Council of Fontainebleau, had accepted the bequest for his second grandson, Philip of Anjou; and in sending the boy off to his new realm he had significantly remarked, *Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées*.[4] To prevent France and Spain being thus practically joined together William III had made the Grand Alliance of England, the United Netherlands, the Empire, and Savoy. His successor, Queen Anne,

[1] Tocqueville, *L'Ancien Régime*, Book II, Chap. II.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] There is some doubt whether this statement was really made by Louis XIV, but it is published as by him in the *Œuvres de Louis XIV* (1806), ii. 466.

along with the Allies, had fought the long War of the Spanish Succession. The results of the war were embodied in the Treaties of Utrecht. According to these, Philip of Anjou, or Philip V, the second grandson of Louis XIV, remained King of Spain, but under the perpetual condition that the crowns of France and Spain should never be joined together in one person. The Spanish overseas domains were divided, so that there should be

a proper balance of power: the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sardinia were given to Austria, but Spain retained the Indies. Sicily, with the title of King, was given to the Duke of Savoy.

King Philip V of Spain was an earnest, pious man; and personally, he would have liked to let Europe remain quiet. His second wife, however, Elizabeth, a princess of the House of Parma (Farnese was the family name), was of a different spirit. She wanted to see the Austrians driven out of Italy, and, after she had children, she wanted to get her sons made into Italian ruling princes. So she soon began to conspire against the Treaties

of Utrecht, and in the end she did bring it about that the Austrians were forced to leave Naples, and that one of her sons should become King of Naples (1735), another Duke of Parma (1748). This shifting about of princes and governments made people say that in the eighteenth century statesmen carved up States like Dutch cheeses. There is truth in this, but the facts show that the carving was not badly done. It compares quite favourably with many later annexations and distributions of territory, even in the twentieth century.

The first step in the process of revising the Utrecht settlement was taken in 1718. Queen Elizabeth Farnese had made Chief Minister in the Spanish Government Julius Alberoni, the agent at Madrid of the Duchy of Parma. Besides being chief Minister, Alberoni, who was in priest's orders, became a Cardinal. Under his energetic and skilful administration, Spain began to recover from the decadence of the reign of Charles II and from the long Succession War. The dockyards began to resound to the noise of shipbuilding; the spirit of the nation awoke. A few more years would have enabled Alberoni to carry his work to something like completion. But this was not to be. In 1718 Spanish troops occupied Sardinia (which was an Austrian possession under the Treaty of Utrecht) and the island of Sicily (which belonged to Savoy under the same treaty). This interference with the treaty settlement of Europe neither England, Austria, or the Dutch would tolerate. France, under the Regent Orleans, also stood by the Treaty, and was in alliance with England. At the battle of Cape Passaro, off the south-eastern coast of Sicily in August 1718, the revived Spanish fleet, Alberoni's pride, was annihilated by Admiral Byng. So Spain gained nothing by this assault upon the Utrecht Settlement; but a change was made, for Austria gave Sardinia to Savoy and received in exchange Sicily (1720). Henceforth the Duke of Savoy (who since 1714 had been called King of Sicily) was called King of Sardinia. One hundred and forty years later he was to become King of Italy.

Spain's first effort had failed. Alberoni had to resign from politics, and betake himself to his clerical duties in Italy. He died at his native place of Piacenza in 1752.

The next effort of Spain was made under a real adventurer. John William Ripperda was a Dutchman, born of good family, at Groningen. After serving in the Dutch infantry, and rising to the rank of colonel, he obtained a diplomatic post and was sent to Madrid. There he got himself into the good offices of the King and Queen, and after Alberoni's fall he became chief minister. But the opportunist Dutchman was no more successful than the honest *curé* of Piacenza. In 1725 he tried to arrange a European war against Great Britain, chiefly with the object of regaining Gibraltar. But the European coalition failed to come into action; and Robert Walpole, the very cautious English Prime Minister, managed to confine the war to local naval operations (near Gibraltar and in the West Indies) which diplomacy brought to an end in 1727. Ripperda was dismissed, and went to Morocco, where he turned Mohammedan and lived the exciting life of an energetic, unprincipled renegade, managing to make money somehow. He died at Tetuan in 1737.

After the English war (1725–7) the affairs of Spain remained quiet for a few years. France was at peace with the rest of the world too. The Regent Orleans had died of apoplexy at the age of forty-nine, in the year 1723. Louis XV, although nominally of age, was too young to do much in government, and left the conduct of affairs to his former tutor, the Cardinal Fleury, a gentle, peace-loving old clergyman between seventy and eighty years of age. In 1733, however, a crisis occurred in the place where it was most likely to happen, namely the Kingdom or Republic (as it was called) of Poland. The celebrated King Augustus the Strong died in February 1733. As the throne was elective the death of a Polish king was always the signal for the outbreak of international rivalries.

On this occasion there were two candidates who between them divided the whole of continental Europe. One was Stanislaus Leszczynski, who twenty-eight years earlier had been made, for a brief time, King of Poland by Charles XII. After losing Poland (for his throne fell with Charles's defeat at Pultava) he had retired to Alsace where he lived the life of a respectable studious nobleman until he was brought into the eye of Europe

again by an unexpected proposal. This was nothing less than an offer of marriage from King Louis XV of France to Stanislaus's daughter Marie. Louis had originally been betrothed to the Infanta of Spain, daughter of Philip V and Elizabeth, but the two Courts had quarrelled and, to the indignation of the Spaniards, the Infanta was sent back to Spain unmarried in 1725 (in point of fact she was only five years old at the time). So a new betrothal was arranged in haste for Louis XV, and the young Marie Leszczynski was chosen.

The result of this was, that when Augustus II of Saxony and Poland died in 1733, the French Government supported the candidature of the father-in-law of Louis XV. Austria and Russia supported Augustus III of Saxony, the son of Augustus the Strong. Queen Elizabeth of Spain saw a chance again arise to revise the Utrecht settlement of Italy. She concluded the First Family Compact between the Bourbon Houses of Spain and France (7 November 1733). The Polish Crown Question produced a war, for the Polish nobles were not left alone to elect whomever they chose. On the whole, victory lay with the French and Spanish forces, but it was found that battles on the Rhine and in Italy did not settle the fate of Poland. Augustus III made good his candidature to the throne. But France and Spain indemnified themselves by changing the territorial settlement of the West by various treaties made in 1735 and 1736.

In the first place the Duchy of Lorraine was given as a consolation to King Stanislaus Leszczynski who entered into a covenant to leave it, when he died, to France. Actually, the Duchy had been administered by French Intendants since the reign of Louis XIV, and was already French to all intents and purposes. Stanislaus was a philosopher who cared little for the crown he had lost. He took up his abode in the Ducal Palace at Nancy, studied, wrote books, was kind to the people, and died in 1766, leaving behind him the memory of a genuine philosopher-king.

When Stanislaus went to Nancy, however, there was already a reigning Duke of Lorraine, of the ancient line. This Duke, Francis, had to leave Lorraine, but was compensated by getting a new duchy, Tuscany. Tuscany itself was not exactly free to be

given away at the moment, for the old reigning family, the Medici, was still in being, in the person of John Gaston. He, however, was childless. He died in 1737, and so ex-Duke Francis of Lorraine went to Tuscany. He had married Maria Theresa, heiress of the Emperor Charles VI, in 1736. A still greater fate was reserved for him, for he became Emperor himself in 1745. His eldest son became the Emperor Joseph II, and the throne of Austria continued in his line until 1918. His second son, Leopold, became Archduke of Tuscany, which continued in Leopold's line until 1860. The House of Lorraine-Tuscany therefore ruled both in Austria and in Tuscany, and provided two of the most enlightened monarchs of the eighteenth century, Joseph II and Leopold II. Tuscany became the best-governed of Italian States.

One more piece of king-making resulted from the War of the Polish Succession. Austria, defeated in Italy, could not keep Naples and Sicily. She resigned it to Prince Charles of Spain, one of the sons of Queen Elizabeth Farnese. Charles founded the Bourbon House of Naples which reigned there until 1860. Charles of Naples, like Stanislaus of Lorraine and Francis of Tuscany proved to be an excellent monarch. The populations in Lorraine, Tuscany, and Naples had no reason to complain of their change of masters.

The next, and—until the French Revolution—the last breach in the Utrecht Settlement, occurred during the War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–8. This struggle began with Frederick II's celebrated invasion of Silesia (December 1740), and developed, when France intervened on the side of Frederick, into a war for the dismemberment of Austria. Spain, attached to France by the Family Compact, also joined in the attack on Austria, by invading that State's dominions in Italy. In this war, as in the War of the Polish Succession, it was found that Spain, which has so often been called decadent, was capable of a fine military effort. Milan, which was an Austrian province, and Parma, which (since the extinction of the Farnese line in 1731) had been occupied by Austrian troops, were conquered; and although in the last years of the war the Austrian troops

again drove the Spaniards out of those territories, the Peace Conference, which met at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 returned the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla (but not Milan) to Spain, for Elizabeth's second son. Don Philip therefore betook himself to the town of Parma, which with its university, its witty society, its elegant palaces and stately churches, was one of the pleasantest little capitals of eighteenth-century Europe. His dynasty, known as the House of Bourbon-Parma, reigned there until 1860, and it is still an important family in Europe.

Philip's elder brother, Don Carlos, the King of Naples and Sicily, had taken no part in the War of the Austrian Succession. Some British ships under Captain Martin, who held the local rank of Commodore in the Mediterranean Squadron, put into the bay of Naples in 1742, and the Commodore went on shore. He called upon the Neapolitan Ministers and placing his watch upon the table gave them sixty minutes to decide on war or neutrality. The Neapolitan Government had really no choice, as the British Navy commanded the Mediterranean, so Naples remained neutral.

Charles, an autocratic but also an industrious and enlightened monarch, reigned in the 'Kingdom of the Two Sicilies' until 1759, and did much to reform the condition of that hitherto ill-governed country. The reigning King of Spain was Ferdinand VI who, as the eldest son by a first marriage, had succeeded Philip V in 1746. In 1759 Ferdinand died without male heir, and Charles succeeded to the Spanish throne. As, however, he could not, by the terms of his coronation, reign both in Madrid and Naples, he had to resign the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his own second son. So Charles went off to Spain, taking with him Tanucci, the very able Minister of Justice, who had helped him to carry out his reforms in Naples. His second son, Ferdinand IV, continued the Bourbon line of the Two Sicilies, which survived until Garibaldi and the Thousand went there in 1860.

On the 10th May 1774 Louis XV died, his strong constitution having been long since ruined by his vices. Like all the members of the House of Bourbon, he was a shrewd man, not without ability. He took a considerable interest in foreign affairs, but none at all in domestic government. His reign had been calami-

tous, for France had taken part in three great wars and had gained nothing—the Wars of the Polish Succession, the Austrian Succession, and the Seven Years War. A thoroughly worldly-minded man, Louis had a great fear of death, and would let nobody talk of it. The Baron de Bésenval in his *Mémoires* tells a curious story: the Court Secretary, reading some papers,

had stumbled on the words, *feu roi d'Espagne* (the late King of Spain). Louis started up in a passion: '*Feu roi*, Monsieur?'—'*Monseigneur*,' hastily answered the trembling but adroit man of business, '*c'est un titre qu'ils prennent* (it is a title they take).'[1]

In the reign of Louis XV France was still the intellectual leader of Europe, but other nations were making up to her in the race of progress. France was rich, her trade and commerce were increasing. A sign of this was the growth of Paris and the number of new buildings that were erected in the years before the Revolution.[2] The population of Paris rose from about 500,000 at the end of the reign of Louis XIV to 660,000 under Louis XVI. The theatre of the Palace of Versailles and the *Petit Trianon* were built under Louis XV.

The great French painters nearly all lived in the reign of Louis XIV—Watteau, Claude Lorrain, the two Poussins (Nicolas and Gaspar). The reign of Louis XV had the lesser lights of Lancret (who continued Watteau's 'pastoral' style), Boucher, and Greuze (who survived until 1805). The British School of painters, of whom Gainsborough was the most famous at that time, was growing into greater eminence than the French.

In literature France still had the primacy, though some of her greatest writers were often in exile. Voltaire was, in his lifetime, a sort of literary Pope for Europe: everybody stood in awe of his terrible judgements, his critiques, his satires. 'Supremacies of this sort are rare in modern times.'[3] He laughed so much at French manners, French religion, and French politics, that he was exiled from France in 1726, and spent most of his long life either in Prussia, at the court of Frederick the Great, or at Cirey

[1] Quoted by Carlyle, *French Revolution*, Book I, Chap. IV.
[2] *La France sous l'Ancien Régime*, by the Vicomte de Broc (1889), p. 475.
[3] Carlyle, *Miscellaneous Essays* (On Goethe).

in Champagne, or at Fernay in Pays de Gex—on French soil, but not in Paris, which was the Mecca of Frenchmen of letters. His literary activity was ceaseless ; and among many of his works the *Siècle de Louis Quatorze* and the *Histoire de Charles XII* stand pre-eminent. Voltaire bought land, managed his estate and other enterprises with great skill, and made a large fortune. He died in 1778.

Rousseau, whose stimulating but superficial work on *The Social Contract* had great influence with the *fin-de-siècle* sentimentalists, was not a Frenchman. He was born in Geneva in 1712. He received scarcely any education, and at the age of sixteen began a wandering career which ended with death in 1778. He was by turns a teacher of music, secretary to an archimandrite of the Greek Church, servant to a military officer, secretary to the French ambassador at Venice, a copier of music at ten *sous* a page. Shiftless, selfish, vain, and immoral, Rousseau was nevertheless a man of genius. His *Confessions*, with their beautiful descriptions of scenery, had influence in the development of the Romantic Movement in literature. His novel *Émile* was a notable contribution to the theory of education, and had a marked result in stimulating the views of Froebel (1782–1852), the originator of ' Kindergartens ', and of Pestalozzi (1745–1827), an apostle of the elementary education of the poor. The *Contrat Social*, published in 1772, with its arguments for the equality of men and for democratic government, helped to bring on the French Revolution, and is still the finest exposition of political sentimentalism.

The French philosophers, *les philosophes*, of the last half of the eighteenth century had a deep effect upon French, and indeed upon European, society. Their views were greatly spread by their own particular writings, as well as by the *Encyclopédie* which Diderot edited, and which appeared in twenty-eight volumes between 1751 and 1772. This was not merely a great storehouse of knowledge, to which practically all the important writers and learned men of France contributed ; its essays and articles also formed a systematic exposition of contemporary ideas on religion, politics, and political economy.

The statue by Houdon in the Comédie Française

Photograph by Braun & Cie.

Yet none of these writers, Voltaire, Rousseau, or the Encyclopaedists who undoubtedly helped to produce the French Revolution, made as solid contributions to the philosophy of government as Montesquieu. Charles de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu, was born in the family *château* near Bordeaux in 1689 and was educated like his father for the legal profession. In 1716 he became President of the Parlement of Bordeaux, and held the post until 1726. After this he travelled in Austria, Italy, Germany, and England, where he stayed two years, 1729–31. All this time he was observing and studying, and especially he was carefully collecting accounts of the laws and constitutions of the countries which he visited or could obtain knowledge of. In 1748 his grand work, *L'Esprit des Lois*, the fruit of twenty years of preparation, was published at Geneva. It contains a masterly analysis of the English Constitution, and profound discussions on political questions, such as the influence of climate upon national character and law. It is the greatest work on politics since the time of Aristotle, and is the sanest guide to all statesmen and political thinkers. Among other practical results, the Constitution of the United States of America (1787) can largely be ascribed to the inspiration of Montesquieu.

The condition of Spanish literature was inferior to that of the French. In the seventeenth century Spain had been the home of the novel. *Don Quixote*, published in 1605, is one of the great books of humanity, like the *Iliad*, the *Divina Commedia*, *Paradise Lost*, and *Vanity Fair*. It is a romance, a satire, a book of travels: nearly all its incidents take place in the open air. After *Don Quixote*, a whole host of novels appeared in Spain—novels that show the decline of Spanish society, for the characters are nearly all either poverty-stricken nobles, worldly-priests, thieves, card-sharpers, or bandit soldiers. The type of these *picaresque* novels is *Lazarillo de Tormes* by the Marquis Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, published in 1553 (see p. 428). By the end of the seventeenth century the Picaresque School had said its say in Spain, and produced no more first-class works, but it had great influence on the literature of other countries. The picaresque idea forms the theme of *Gil Blas* (1715), by Le Sage, of Fielding's *Tom Jones*,

Title-page of the first English translation of 'Don Quixote' issued in 1612

and of all De Foe's novels except *Robinson Crusoe*. In drama, Calderon de la Barca (1600–83) had an enduring fame. He wrote over one hundred plays, some of which have been finely translated into English by Edward Fitzgerald. In the eighteenth century Spain produced no great men of letters. In painting, only Goya (1746–1828), the Court-painter of Charles IV, continued to recall something of the greatness of Velasquez and Murillo, the painters of the reign of Philip IV.

The last, and indeed the only, eminent Spanish king between the death of Philip II in 1598 and the accession of Alfonso XIII in 1886 was Charles III. Yet one of the intermediate kings, Philip IV (1621–65), is one of the best-known European monarchs, because Velasquez painted forty famous pictures of him. Under this monarch there flourished two of the greatest glories of Seville. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1618–1682) is known abroad for his pictures of gipsies and beggars, but in Spain chiefly for his solemn, religious pictures. Diego de Silva Velasquez (1599–1660) was also a Sevillian. The best collection of his paintings is at the Prado in Madrid; but outside Madrid the finest portrait by Velasquez is that of Admiral Pulido Pareja which is in the National Gallery of London.

Charles III had been King of the Two Sicilies for twenty-seven years when he succeeded to the throne of Spain in 1759, and during that period he had shown himself to be a capable and conscientious ruler. Like Frederick II of Prussia, and Joseph II of Austria, monarchs contemporary with him, Charles was the First Servant of the State, laborious and conscientious, yet at the same time autocratic. He was the careful steward of the State, but the only master that he recognized was God.

Charles was fortunate in having good ministers; or rather, he was clear-sighted enough to recognize talent in his officials. His loyal nature made him stand by his Ministers, and support their most unpopular acts. When he came to the throne of Spain he inherited a good Chief Minister, Admiral Wall, an Irishman. This man had joined an Irish regiment in the Spanish service, and fought in the battle of Cape Passaro in 1718. He rose to be Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1752 to 1764, and died in 1778

leaving behind him the reputation of an honourable, witty, and hospitable nobleman.

Another able Minister was the Marquis di Squilacci, who came from Naples. He was a most energetic reformer, and did much to restore the finances of Spain. The Marquis of Aronda was a skilful Ambassador and Minister of Foreign Affairs; but the best of all was probably Count Florida-Bianca who held office through the last part of Charles's reign. These names are worth citing because they show how eighteenth-century Spain was capable of producing able native ministers; an earlier instance was Patino, Chief Minister during the national revival at the time of the Polish Succession War. They show too how Spain absorbed and used foreigners, like Squilacci, or Wall, or another who has not yet been mentioned, General O'Reilly, Charles's best general.

Thus in spite of two unsuccessful wars (the Seven Years War and the American War of Independence) in both of which he took part quite unnecessarily, Charles III had a prosperous reign. He brought common sense into the antiquated and cumbrous governmental ideas of Spain. He stopped the absurd restrictions by which Spain tried to protect her commerce even from her colonies. The Free Trade which Charles made between Spain and Spanish America did more for his country than all the wars waged since the battle of Pavia. Under Squilacci's regulations Madrid at last became a capital with clean streets and an efficient police.

Charles III lived to an old age, for regular work all morning, and regular exercise in the afternoon (which he invariably spent in hunting and shooting) are good for the health. He died in 1788 at the age of seventy-two. Unlike all his dull, proud, and melancholy predecessors he was cheerful, lively, robust, a thoroughly normal and wholesome man, and an excellent instance of the *rois éclairés* of the eighteenth century. In the eyes of visitors to Spain to-day, Charles III still appears almost as its creator. He built the magnificent Prado, which houses the grand collection of pictures in Madrid. Many other public works stand to his credit, and memorials of him are practically every-

where. The Spanish seem to be naturally a royalist people, and answer most easily to the guidance of a king, whether he have the lively genius of Charles III or the gloomy temperament of Philip II, provided only that he be an energetic leader.

Supplementary Dates.

X

1553 Publication of the Picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes.*
1721 Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes.*
1723 Voltaire's *Henriade.*
1746 Birth of Goya.
1748 Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois.*
1754 Voltaire's Essay *Sur les mœurs.*
1762 *Le Contrat social* of Rousseau.
Glück's *Orfeo.*
1772 Appearance of the 28th volume of Diderot's Encyclopaedia.
1775 Beaumarchais's *Barber of Seville.*
1781 *Confessions* of Rousseau.
1784 Beaumarchais's *Figaro.*

XI

THE AGE OF REASON

THE men of the eighteenth century prided themselves upon being strictly rational. Realism, the habit of taking things as they are, without troubling about the mysteries which may lie beneath the material aspect of the world, was the rule in politics and in social matters. With European life in this condition it was not remarkable that an assault should be made on the Roman Catholic Church, an institution which is the opposite of realistic; for the Roman Catholic Church does not take things as they are; it looks upon material things only as the symbol or expression of spiritual things which lie beyond.

The Roman Catholic Church had experienced and had survived the great assault of the Reformation. The new attack, the attack associated with the name of the Age of Reason, began really before the Age of Reason. It arose with the philosophy of Descartes.

René Descartes was not, like most philosophers, a somewhat solitary man who lived in his study, and followed a lonely line of thought, albeit for the good of mankind. He had the mobility of the Renaissance scholar, a mobility which lasted down to the end of the eighteenth century. Born in 1596, of a noble French family in Touraine, Descartes received the high education of the day at the Jesuit College of La Flèche in Aragon, where Prince Eugene of Savoy also was educated. On leaving school Descartes was entered for a military career, but as France was at peace and was reducing its forces after the death of Henry IV, he went into the Dutch service. Garrison life at Breda gave him plenty of leisure, and he spent it in thinking out mathematical problems. Later he transferred his services to Maximilian of Bavaria. In 1621 he left the army and travelled until 1629. At Florence he met Galileo. From 1629 to 1648 Descartes resided in Holland; then he went to Sweden where the highly cultured Queen Christina

welcomed him and gave him a pension. But the climate of Stockholm and the habit of early rising at the Swedish court (which had to be up by five o'clock in the morning) were too much for the philosopher's health. He died at Stockholm in 1650, but his body was brought to Paris and is buried in the ancient Church of Ste. Geneviève near the University.

Descartes's most influential work is the *Discourse on Method*, written in French and published in 1637. He had early resolved to say nothing that was not 'perfectly clear and distinct'. His system of philosophy is based upon the statement: *cogito, ergo sum*, 'I think, therefore I exist;' and from this basis he proceeds to examine and to test all that is called knowledge, and to show just how far the human mind can attain to certainty.

Descartes was a strong supporter of religion, but he began or at any rate strengthened a habit of mind which was bound to give the Church some trouble. This was the habit of accepting nothing which could not be understood perfectly clearly and of which the truth could not be absolutely demonstrated. But articles of faith, the ultimate truths of religion, cannot satisfy these tests; both in religion and in philosophy the starting-points must be accepted; their truth depends upon being felt, not in demonstration. 'That God exists' is, like 'cogito, ergo sum', a *fundamental*.

Yet although religion and philosophy are both merely different aspects of the same thing, namely the search for truth, they have often been regarded as irreconcilable things by the less profound of the world's thinkers. This may explain why, in the eighteenth century, Reason, except in the greatest minds like that of Kant, produced scepticism and unbelief.

The Roman Catholic Church had to meet attack in the Age of Reason; and the attack naturally directed itself upon the most vulnerable part of the Church, the Society of Jesus.

The Society of Jesus, large, wealthy, highly organized, with its carefully trained, polished members, the schoolmasters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the confessors of princes, was a great strength yet a great weakness of the Church. Its very power made people turn against it, for the laity always

reacts against anything like clerical ascendancy. Also the casuistry of the Jesuits, the arguments by which they guided people's conduct and examined particular acts and duties, tended to develop into an easy system of morality which even the immoral men of the eighteenth century in their heart of hearts despised.

The Jesuits were assailed by three forces, by Morality, by Efficiency, by Indifference. Morality was represented by Pascal, Efficiency by the Marquis Pombal, Indifference by the whole mass of high society in the eighteenth century.

Pascal, who lived in the seventeenth century (he died in 1662 at the age of thirty-nine), is one of the most beautiful characters and rarest geniuses in the history of mankind. As a mathematician, a philosopher, and a stylist, he stands in the highest rank of that great Age. The casuistry of the Jesuits shocked both his intellect and his moral sense; and in the *Lettres Provinciales* he analysed it with an irony and at the same time a perfect truthfulness against which no sham could long stand.

At Port-Royal-des-Champs, eight miles from Versailles, Pascal and his friends lived with a religious community of laymen which was Catholic, yet critical of some accepted sides of Catholicism. Port-Royal did a fine work in conducting a school for which the members of the community wrote a Latin and Greek Grammar and a famous 'Logic'; but its Catholicism, which was 'Jansenist' (after Cornelius Jansen, a professor of Louvain, and Bishop of Ypres in 1636) and was something like Arminianism (see p. 478), brought it into disfavour. The Jansenists held, in a moderate form, the doctrine of Predestination, a doctrine to which the orthodox Catholicism is wholly opposed. Their view was that to be saved a man must be converted, and that the Grace of God must come upon him: but that the Grace of God only came upon those whom God had called to Him. In 1653 Pope Innocent X, acting on a report of the Sorbonne, condemned the chief Jansenist propositions. In 1660 the Community of Port-Royal was suppressed by royal order. Later, it was revived for a time. It was finally suppressed in 1707.

In the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV the Jesuits re-

gained all their influence at court, for the King, as he grew older and especially after his marriage with Françoise d'Aubigné, Marquise de Maintenon,[1] in 1685, became more and more austere and devout. When Louis XIV died, a reaction took place like that which occurred in England under Charles II after the austere rule of the Puritan Commonwealth. The morality of high society, which had never been good in any part of Europe, declined. Vice was openly flaunted, and religion was laughed at in the grand houses of Paris, as it was also at the Carnival of Venice. Indifference to morality led to indifference to religion, and in many parts of Europe, especially in France and Italy, some of the higher clergy themselves became as worldly as at the time of the Renaissance. Fénelon, who died in 1715, is the last highly placed French clergyman who was recognized by the whole world as a man of saintly character, although it would not be true to say that the rest of the bishops in eighteenth-century France were not, as a whole, good men.

The indifference of high society towards religion gave opportunity to the sceptics and satirists like Voltaire to expose the weakness of the Church to a Europe that seemed only to want amusement. The sterner tradition of Pascal was also continued in a work of the great philosopher of social and constitutional history, Montesquieu. His *Lettres Persanes*, a satire on the libertinism and irreligion of the period of the Regent Orleans, were published in 1721.

But it was the men of efficiency that gave the deathblow to the Jesuits. The Age of Reason is sometimes called the Age of Common Sense. This realist habit of mind was as strong among the monarchs as amongst the nobility and educated *bourgeoisie*. Being kings with all the titles and rights of sovereigns, the monarchs assumed that their business was to rule. They became *consciously* despotic, and, responding to the universal cult of

[1] Maria Theresa, first wife of Louis XIV, died in 1683. Françoise d'Aubigné was daughter of a Huguenot, and was converted to Roman Catholicism. Her first husband was the poet Scarron. She became governess in Louis XIV's family in 1669, and was made Marquise de Maintenon by him in 1678.

reason and common sense, they became *enlightened* despots. They wished to govern their States like well-managed private property in which everybody should have good wages and be made to behave well. Anything that stood in the way of this efficient autocratic management of the State must be got rid of.

Among the great corporations, the trading guilds, the mercantile companies, the legal profession, the universities, all of which to some extent hampered the royal authority, the Society of Jesus had to be counted. For through its schools it influenced the young, through its popularity for supplying confessors it influenced the bulk of the people, especially the women, while its wealth and its communities in every State made it an international power. In the colonial possessions of Spain and Portugal the influence of the Society rivalled that of the State.

The first monarch to attack the Jesuits was King Joseph of Portugal. This kingdom had outlived its greatness. Its population could not bear the strain of supplying so many heroes for the Age of Discovery. Having made an empire in India and Brazil, the Portuguese people subsided into inactivity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first great blow to its prosperity had been when Philip II conquered Portugal in 1580. The country had regained its independence in 1640, and has since kept it, but except for rare intervals, like the war of 1808–13, without distinction.

One of those rare intervals was the ministry of the Marquis Pombal under King Joseph. Of Pombal it might have been said, as Frederick the Great said of the elder Pitt, 'at last the country has produced a *man*'.

Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal, was forty-one years old when he became Minister in Portugal in 1750 after having held various posts in the Portuguese diplomatic service abroad. His amazing energy at once found plenty to do, in reducing the huge civil service that encumbered the Government offices, in seeing to the proper collecting and spending of the revenue, in encouraging the establishment of commercial companies to exploit the dormant wealth of the Portuguese Indies. On the 1st November 1755 a fearful earthquake laid Lisbon in

ruins. Pombal never wavered in his optimism and energy; a new and finer Lisbon arose out of the ruin of the old. It is pleasant to remember that the British Government gave £100,000 towards helping its oldest and most faithful ally to repair the damage of the earthquake.

Pombal's attention was perhaps directed towards the Jesuits by their action in Paraguay. This colony, the possession of which Spain and Portugal both claimed, was really in the hands of communities of Jesuits who had converted the natives. The settled parts of Paraguay were divided into great estates called *reductions* which were managed by the Jesuits as large agricultural properties. The natives were well treated, and the estates became highly flourishing.

In 1748 the Spanish and Portuguese Governments agreed to settle their differences; Portugal recognized the right of Spain to the greater part of Paraguay, receiving, in return, the portions of the colony adjoining to Brazil. The Jesuits opposed this settlement; military force was required to carry it into effect. It must be admitted that the transference of Paraguay to Spanish rule was not beneficial to the natives who have to a large extent perished (along with the bulk of the white males) in subsequent civil wars.

The Jesuit opposition, whether in Paraguay or Portugal, was too much for Pombal to tolerate; so in 1759 he induced King Joseph to expel them from his dominions. In France about the same time the Jesuits were falling into especial reproach owing to the large amount of trade carried on by their community in Martinique. This trade, although not conducted for private profit, but for the good of the Order, was scarcely proper in a purely religious body, and became a subject of scandal when the investments went wrong and the trading-community became bankrupt (1761). So the Jesuits were expelled from the French dominions in 1764. Three years later Charles III expelled them from Spain. In 1773 Pope Clement XIV was induced to declare the whole Order dissolved.

Thus that society which was by far the most powerful, wealthy, and capable of the Roman Orders was done away with after

one hundred and thirty years of devoted, if not always wise, service to the Papacy. The disbanded Jesuits lived on as best they could on small pensions granted by Governments from the former Jesuit property. Some became schoolmasters in Prussia which was then the most tolerant country in Europe; and some were given work to do in Russia by Catherine II. A few lived to see the restoration of the Order after the Age of Reason was over, when 'Legitimacy' came back into its own, in 1814.

Supplementary Dates.

XI

1637 Descartes's *Discourse on Method.*
1650 Death of Descartes at Stockholm.
1755 Earthquake at Lisbon.

XII

SIGNS OF THE COMING STORM

Revolution, or attempts at revolution have been a fairly common fact from the time when the feudal organization of society began to decay about the middle of the fourteenth century. Most of these were merely efforts to bring about a change of governors; they were not meant to effect any change in the social classes which comprised a State. But some of these early attempts at revolution, like the French Jacquerie of 1358 or the English Peasants' Revolt of 1381, were meant to be *social* revolutions, that is, to change the system under which property was held and under which social classes, such as nobility, *bourgeoisie*, and peasantry were marked off from each other.

In the eighteenth century there were many political revolutions, but there was no onslaught made upon the existing social system until 1789. Since then efforts at accomplishing a social revolution have become increasingly common, but have usually failed owing to the efficient military and police organizations of modern States. Still more recently, a tendency has arisen to accomplish social revolution without violence, by using the institutions of democracy to make fundamental social changes by Act of Parliament.

The country with the quietest domestic history in the eighteenth century was Russia. This was because the mass of the people were wholly uneducated, and were serfs, bound by ancient custom and law to the soil. The nobility was a landed class who lived upon their estates, for the country was too vast for much travelling, and, except Moscow and Petersburg, there were no large cities. A fine account of life in a paternal old squire's country house is given in the novel by Aksakov (1823–86), *A Russian Gentleman* (or *Family History*, as it is variously translated). The civil service was large, and, on the whole, competent, although the standard of honesty was low. The head of the

whole system, both religious and secular, was the Tsar, or Tsarina, for Russia had no ' Salic Law '.

Although Russia had, as a whole, a quiet domestic history, the Court was subject to a large number of convulsions owing to ambitious nobles conspiring against each other or even against their sovereign. Yet these ' palace revolutions ' never caused even a ripple across the surface of the solid mass of the Russian people.

Peter the Great when he died in 1725 left a fine group of trained statesmen behind him, some native, some foreign. Their traditions lasted throughout the century: native Russians were trained and promoted, but able foreigners, German, Scottish, and Irish, were also welcomed and rose high in the Russian service. Under these intelligent administrators, and under the capable Tsarinas, Anna (1730–40), Elizabeth (1741–62) and Catherine II (1762–96), high Russian society developed a degree of culture which it had never known before. Grand opera, a feature of life in Western Europe, was brought to Petersburg; the Imperial theatre produced the now celebrated Russian *ballet*; the famous gallery of pictures, the ' Hermitage ' at Petersburg, founded by Peter the Great, grew apace. All this was a superficial civilizing at the centre of a vast undeveloped country, but it was the beginning of a steady process of national education which only the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 interrupted and suspended.

Russia's great effort in the eighteenth century was against Turkey. In 1737 she engaged in a Turkish war in alliance with Austria but with little profit; even Austria had to restore Belgrade to the Turks. Under the Tsarina Elizabeth, a daughter of Peter the Great, Russia was drawn away from Turkish affairs to participate in the Seven Years War. This was probably the time when Russian military power really became formidable to Western Europe. The armies of Elizabeth won the only real success of the allies against Frederick the Great, at Zorndorf (1758) and Kunersdorf (1759). The death of Elizabeth in January 1762, and the accession of her nephew Peter III, a German on his father's side, saved Frederick the Great, from inevitable defeat; for the new Tsar was a sincere admirer of

the King of Prussia and made an alliance with him. But Peter only reigned a few months. He was displaced and murdered by a palace revolution; his wife Catherine II reigned in his stead.

This was the second (the reign of Peter I was the first) beginning of Russia's greatness. Catherine gathered round herself, like Peter I, a regular school of able administrators and generals, mostly native Russians like the Orloff family, Potemkin and Rumiantzov, but also foreigners like Admirals Greig and Elphinstone. Russia expanded enormously. The first partition of Poland, 1772, added one large western province; a second in 1793 and a final partition in 1795 made Russia a neighbour of Austria and Prussia, and wiped the Kingdom of Poland off the map of Europe.

In 1768 Catherine had a Turkish war, which ended, by the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainarji, with the annexation of Azov and the Kuban district in 1774. In 1783 the Crimea, a Tartar region nominally independent of Russian and Turk alike, was annexed; and in 1792, after another war with Turkey, Oczakov was taken (treaty of Jassy), and Odessa was founded. Thus by the end of Catherine's reign, Russia extended to the river Dniester. The frontier of Turkey was steadily receding.

The domestic history of Russia under Catherine shows continuous progress. She improved the working of the bureaucracy, and she divided the whole country into governorships in order to introduce some decentralization into administration. The towns were organized as self-governing municipalities, and a number of new schools were established.

The court of Catherine II was brilliant. Petersburg displaced Stockholm as the centre of art and letters for the North. French was the language of polite society. Catherine herself corresponded in French with Voltaire, Diderot, the Baron Melchior Grimm, and others. All Europe admired the energy and culture of the Tsarina, although visitors were a little shocked at the extravagance of her court, which was a heavy burden on the country's finances. It is probably true to say that, with the exception of the reign of Alexander I (1801–25), Russia was never more in touch with Western Europe than in the reign of

Catherine II. Had French become the language, not merely of the Court, but of all the schools and colleges, Russia would have rapidly become a normal European State, instead of remaining shut off, as she has done, by a language that can never be a general medium of thought and learning.

Catherine was an insignificant German princess of the House of Anhalt-Zerbst when she came to Russia in 1745 to marry the Tsarevitch Peter. When she died in 1796 she was the greatest figure in Europe. The last six years of her reign had coincided with the rise of French ' Jacobinism ', the motives and probable results of which she saw more clearly than any other European monarch.

Russia's northern neighbour, Sweden, had neither a glorious nor a prosperous history in the eighteenth century. When Charles XII died in 1718 the country fell under the control of a few powerful noble families. The Crown became absolutely powerless, and the only signs of political activity lay in the party-struggles of the Caps and the Hats. The Caps, headed by Count Horn, Chancellor of the Kingdom for thirty-three years (1705–38) had a policy of keeping Sweden out of the troubles and wars of Europe ; the Hats, on the other hand, were all for continuing the old French alliance—an alliance which would again make Sweden engage in European wars. The country did engage in two wars, one with Russia in 1741, and again in 1756 (this was part of the Seven Years War), and on both occasions with unfortunate results.

In 1771 Gustavus III succeeded to the throne, determined to put an end to the rule of the oligarchy of nobles, and to make the authority of the Crown a reality. In 1772 he had all the most prominent Caps arrested or intimidated, and was able to restore the old Constitution which gave the King large powers. He then embarked on the regular course of an enlightened despot, reforming the currency, the taxes, the law courts, the army and navy. He was labouring to organize the monarchs of Europe in an effort to repress the French Revolution, when he was shot by an assassin in the Stockholm Opera House on the 16th March 1792.

In every monarchical country the same feature is noticed in

the last half of the eighteenth century, the vigorous prolonged effort of the monarch to strip off the ancient trammels, the remnants of obsolete feudalism, and to bring his government into conformity with the views of the best minds. The writings of the great Frenchmen, Descartes, Pascal, Montesquieu, and Voltaire, had become the common property of Europe. Germany had awakened; the word *Aufklärung*—enlightenment—was on everybody's lips. The time was ripe for great improvements in human society, and the real question which the fates had to decide was this: would the improvement come in violence, catastrophe, war, or would it come through an orderly, normal, and peaceful development? The enlightened monarchs were working for orderly development; but the type of mind which was later called Jacobin was working for change by catastrophe.

Joseph II was, after Frederick the Great, the typical enlightened monarch of the eighteenth century. Born in 1741, he was in 1765 associated with his mother, the Empress Maria Theresa, as co-Emperor. He thus learned statecraft in a serious-minded school, the school of the Empress Maria Theresa (1740–80) and the Chancellor Kaunitz (1711–94). He was trained in law, especially international law, history, economics, strategy. When he became sole Emperor in 1780 he put his plans more and more into operation, working feverishly, incessantly, determinedly at the reform of finance, law, and the ecclesiastical system. When not working at his writing-table, or in the Council-chamber, he was travelling up and down his dominions, putting up at the country inns, maintaining little state, acting always as the hard-worked servant of his people. Yet when he died on the 10th February 1790 his Belgian dominions were in revolt and his brother-in-law the King of France and his sister the Queen were being bullied by the Paris mob. He composed an epitaph on himself: 'Here lies a sovereign who, with the best intentions, never carried a single project into execution.' Just before his death he sent a kind message to his troops, saying, 'to be a soldier was ever my warmest desire.'[1] He was in the forty-ninth year of his age.

[1] Coxe, *House of Austria*, Chap. 130.

The old order, it is true, was not exactly passing away, but was being frightfully shaken and attacked by forces of the new Age. This old order had many faults, but few people now will assert that men were less happy under it than they are now, or that the highest qualities of men's mind and soul were not then given the chance of growing. The worst characteristics of the eighteenth century were the wasteful extravagance of the upper classes, the cruelty of the criminal codes, and the existence of slavery in the colonies.

The first fault, as it seems, nothing can cure; wealth may be taken from the nobility, but it only passes to a new and perpetually shifting class of 'profiteers' whose extravagance is greater and infinitely more heartless.

The cruelty of the criminal codes were already being attacked in the eighteenth century, by men like General Oglethorpe (1698–1785) and John Howard (1726–90) in England, and by the Marchese Beccaria (1735–94) in Italy. It is possible, however, to go too far in leniency towards criminals, for there is a volcano of lust and disorder below the apparently fine crust of human society; and although the horrible *wheel* was rightly abolished early in the nineteenth century (it was suppressed in France by the Revolution) there is truth in Joseph de Maistre's defence of the executioner:

> Scarcely has Authority indicated his dwelling, scarcely has he taken possession of it, than the other habitations are withdrawn until they no longer see his. It is in the midst of this solitude and of this sort of emptiness formed around him that he lives alone with his wife and children. . . . A mournful signal is given: an abject servant of the Lord comes knocking at his door, warning him that he is needed. He goes; he arrives at a public square, filled with a dense and palpitating crowd. A poisoner, a parricide, or a sacrilegious criminal is cast to him. He seizes the criminal, extends him, binds him on a horizontal cross. He raises his arm to strike: then there is a horrible silence, and one hears only the crashing of the bones which break under the bar and the howls of the victim. He detaches the victim; places him upon the wheel; the broken limbs are laced on to the spokes, the head hangs, the hair erect, and from the mouth, open like a furnace, there issue at intervals only blood and a few words, calling for death.
>
> It is finished. The executioner's heart beats, but it is with joy;

he applauds himself and says in his heart, ' Nobody can wheel better than me ' (*Nul ne roue mieux que moi*). He descends, he holds out his bloodstained hand, and the magistrate throws into it from afar some pieces of gold which he carries away between a double hedge of people, drawn back with horror. He sits down at table, and he eats, next, to bed, and he sleeps. On the morrow, awaking, he thinks of something quite different from what he has done the day before. Is he a man ? Yes, God receives him in his temples and permits him to pray. . . .

All grandeur, all power, all subordination depend upon the executioner : he is the horror and the bond of human association. Take away from the world this incomprehensible agent ; in an instant even, order gives place to chaos, thrones collapse and society disappears. (*Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg, premier entretien* (1822).)

It is not true to say that there was no career open to talent until the French Revolution cleared the way. The numerous courts of Italy and Germany attracted talent from every class, high or low. A good singer or player was always welcome in the famous band of Charles Theodore, the Elector Palatine, at Heidelberg (1742–99). Mozart (1756–91) was the son of a violinist in the choir of the Archbishop of Salzburg. Haydn (1732–1809) was the son of a cartmaker who, though extremely poor, yet worked for himself and made his own carts and played the harp in his spare hours. In the reign of Joseph II both Mozart and Haydn were employed by Prince Esterhazy, a great Austro-Hungarian nobleman, and given leisure to compose their works. Beethoven (1770–1827) grew to fame at Bonn in the Archbishopric of Cologne, encouraged by the Archbishop, in whose choir the elder Beethoven had been a singer. The Archbishop was a brother of Joseph II of Austria ; his greatest friend was Count Waldstein, who was a constant supporter of Beethoven, and after whom the Waldstein Sonata is named.

The influence of little courts on eighteenth-century civilization was enormous. Carlyle's essay on Heyne describes the rise of a learned man, a professor at Göttingen from 1763 to 1812. Göttingen University was founded in 1737 under the patronage of George II, Elector of Hanover. The lives of Schiller and Goethe were intimately associated with the Court of the Grand-Duke of Weimar.

Indeed the generous attitude of eighteenth-century monarchs towards ' new men ' made, in some ways, the rise of talent too easy. A clever adventurer could gain a position and abuse the confidence of liberal noblemen and monarchs. Quacks abounded, like Cagliostro the Neapolitan (1743–95) who imposed on the Court of Versailles in 1785, although he was unable to fob off his ' elixir of immortal youth ' on Catherine II of Russia and her Scottish physician. Others of these adventurers were merely handsome gamblers and profligates, like Casanova, the Venetian, (1725–98) who passed from city to city in alternate phases of wealth and destitution. These were the scum of a period which was otherwise full of sound elements. A real cosmopolitanism prevailed. A sound economist, a Scotsman, like John Law (1671–1729), could rise to be financial head of the French Government, and is remembered as a worthy statesman although his famous Bank and Mississippi scheme came to grief. Erneste Vattel of Neufchatel held a diplomatic post from the Elector of Saxony (during the period of the Seven Years War) while he composed his great treatise on the Law of Nations (1758). Nationalism in the eighteenth century was reconciled with internationalism ; a people could be conscious of its own unity and independence, and yet be ready to admit the men, the books, and the language of other States. It was the French Revolution that began the era of intense national passions and separatism.

It is a curious fact that in some ways Europe was more of a unity in the eighteenth century than it has been since. Even in England, perhaps the most nationalist of all the European States, there was a ' Continental ' atmosphere. Addison in the *Spectator* tells how, in the coffee-houses, all the talk was about affairs on the Continent. The English kings themselves were foreigners. George I and George II were both born in Hanover. They could scarcely speak English. Their competitors, the exiled Stewarts, were just as foreign ; they served in the French army ; their attempts at restoration, the ' Jacobite ' invasions of 1715 and 1745, were made with ludicrously inadequate resources ; and yet the gallicized Stewarts might easily have ascended the English throne again if they had not been Roman Catholics.

George III (1760–1820), who 'gloried in the name of Briton', was the only one of the four Georges who never visited his electorate of Hanover. It was a thousand pities that Hanover became separated from Great Britain later: it might have helped to bring about a United States of Europe.

Supplementary Dates.

XII

1757	Russian Theatre erected at St. Petersburg.
1759	Death of Handel.
1762	Parini's *Il Giorno.*
1767	Lessing's *Hamburg Dramaturgy.*
	Lavater's Swiss Songs.
1768	Death of Winckelmann.
1781	Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft.*
1782	Death of Lessing.
	Schiller's *Robbers.*
1786	Mozart's *Figaro.*
1787	Goethe's *Iphigenie.*
1791	Death of Mozart.

XIII

THE REVOLUTION

The condition of affairs which produced the French Revolution has long been meditated on by great historians like Carlyle, Taine, and Sorel, and by political philosophers like Alexis de Tocqueville. The Revolution has formed the theme of romances, such as *A Tale of Two Cities* by Dickens (who lived near enough to the period to feel its intensity), and Victor Hugo's powerful novel, called *1793*, with its descriptions of the leading actors, a veritable picture gallery.

The verdict of Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–59) was that the Revolution came about largely for two reasons. Firstly because the administrative machinery of the *Ancien Régime* was so cumbrous and complicated that Louis XVI and his Ministers, with the best will in the world, could not make it work properly and could not reform it. It required the 'clean sweep' of the Revolution before the administrative system could be got into proper order. The second reason was that in France the different classes—aristocracy, *bourgeoisie*, peasantry—were almost completely cut off from each other; each class lived in a world of its own, as if it were a separate and exclusive corporation: and this in spite of the fact that in no country of continental Europe did the classes so closely resemble each other in point of education and wealth. Even the peasants, although suffering many hardships, were better off than those of Austria, Prussia, or Italy. But each class was cut off from the others by social and legal barriers, so that the whole State lacked solidarity. The King and Court too were cut off from the rest of the people and were almost unknown to them, for Louis XIV had withdrawn the Court from Paris, which was the most populous city of France, to Versailles, which was an artificial city outside the whole current of national life.

In Germany and in Great Britain kings and princes lived, in a very real sense, among their people. Nearly everybody in London and Windsor knew George III by sight, and in the little German capitals the princes walked about the streets and attended concerts, fully in the public eye. But the French King, Louis XV, lived, hedged around by his Swiss Guards and his vast retinue of noble servitors, in the huge Château of Versailles, taking his walks remote from the public eye in the alleys and avenues of the great park of the Château. When he went outside, in the neighbourhood of Versailles, or to Paris, he was driven hurriedly along in a closed carriage, guards in front, behind, and on every side, so that the people could catch just the most fleeting glimpse of a man who was only known to them by the fame of his vices. Louis XV died in 1774, his only son, the Dauphin Louis, having predeceased him in 1765.

Louis XVI was far better than Louis XV. He had no vices. But his heartless, self-indulgent grandfather, vicious beyond the vices of any of his line, had ruined the reputation of the French monarchy. Thoughtful people could not see any divinity, perhaps not even any utility, in such an institution. And people were beginning to think a great deal. The half-truths of Rousseau's *Contrat social* had sunk deeply into the mind of the reading public. 'The aristocrats', says Carlyle, 'laughed at the *Contrat social*, but their skins went to bind the second edition.'

Louis XVI was certainly not a bad man, but he was weak in will, and the whole French Government was weak. Nobody is strong when he cannot pay his debts. The French Government was bankrupt. It had obtained revenge against England for the Seven Years War by helping the Americans in 1777, in their War of Independence. But it was a dearly bought revenge, for if it took from England her North American Colonies (except Canada) it also made practically inevitable the insolvency of the French Government. It added to the already overwhelming Public Debt, and the Government had to go on borrowing, on increasingly unfavourable terms, to pay the interest. The nobles—a very numerous class—paid no direct taxes: and yet the only way to restore national solvency was to make everybody

'In Germany and in Great Britain kings and princes lived, in a very real sense, among their people'

Caricature of George, Prince of Wales, drawn in 1788 by James Sayers

pay a fair share. At last the able Genevese and Parisian banker, Jacques Necker (of the firm of Thelusson and Necker), whom Louis XVI had made chief Minister, induced the King to summon the Estates-General, which had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years. It met at Versailles on the 5th May 1789. On the 4th August, in a memorable session, the Noble Estate renounced all its privileges, and an equitable scheme of taxation for the whole of France was in process of being arranged. But by this time the Revolution had begun and the opportunity of peaceful reform was passing away.

The Government remained weak to the end. Louis XVI tried to do his duty, as he had always done. In the years before the Revolution he had employed Turgot and Necker to try and straighten the administrative tangle. He had begun to show himself about the country. There is an interesting painting in the Château of Versailles showing Louis on a visit to the dockyard at Brest.

The weakness of Louis's attitude was dramatically shown on the 10th August 1792, when the Paris mob stormed the Tuileries, where Louis was at the time residing. Louis, who could have organized a proper defence, left his faithful Swiss Guards to be slaughtered. The Swiss soldiers are commemorated in the magnificent Lion of Lucerne which the genius of Thorwaldsen (1770–1844) caused to be hewn out of the living rock. 'If Napoleon I', says an American writer, 'had stood in the shoes of Louis XVI that day, instead of being merely a casual and unknown looker-on, there would be no Lion of Lucerne now, but there would be a well-stocked Communist graveyard in Paris, which would answer just as well to remember the 10th August by.' [1]

The Revolution is said to have actually started not at Paris but with a union of local Estates or Deputies at Vizille, a château in Dauphiné, which was subsequently acquired by the Casimir-Périer family. Paris, however, soon became the centre of the

[1] *A Tramp Abroad*, by Mark Twain, Chap. XXVI. Mark Twain wrote the above-quoted remark in spite of the fact that he was a great believer in the good of the French Revolution.

Early paper money and coins of the American Revolution

Early paper money, coin, and medal of the French Revolution

Revolutionary movement. Although at times anarchy, owing to the breaking out of savage, lawless elements in mobs of people, frequently threatened to destroy the State, yet the middle class—the *bourgeoisie*, as the French call them—soon got control of the movement and directed it into orderly channels. Under this direction the Revolution gave (not at first, but in time) two things to the French people which no other European country had, namely equality before the law and manhood suffrage. The bad period of the Revolution—the Reign of Terror—was a miserable, unfortunate phase, due to the panic caused by the attacks of neighbouring Powers on the Revolutionary Settlement. The indefensible executions of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette were due to extremists who chose this way to make it impossible for people to go back upon their tracks and to undo the work of the Revolution.

The Estates-General, which, for the first time for one hundred and seventy-five years, met on the 5th May 1789 at Versailles, was an unwieldy body of 1,200 members—300 in the Clerical Estate, 300 in the Nobles, and 600 in the *Tiers État*; but in a short time the Third Estate gained all the power and, under the name of the Constituent Assembly, including some clergymen and nobles who came over from their own Estate, proceeded to draft a Constitution for France. The most statesmanlike member of the Assembly was Count Mirabeau, a nobleman, but not a member of the Estate of the Nobles: he was one of the deputies elected to the *Tiers État* from Provence.

On the 14th July 1789 the Bastille, the prison chiefly for political prisoners, at Paris, was stormed and destroyed by the mob. There were only a few prisoners in it at the time. In that summer disturbance in the provinces grew apace, and many of the nobles began to emigrate in a continually increasing stream, to Coblentz, to Holland, and to England. Such of their representatives as were left in the Constituent Assembly gave up all their privileges, on behalf of the whole nobility, on the 4th August. All classes would henceforth be taxed, and all have the same legal rights and duties. On the 27th August the Assembly put forth the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, a moderately worded

'Charter' for the French nation; a copy of it may be seen hanging in almost any French public office at the present day.

Article 1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can only be founded on public utility.

Contemporary French medal struck to commemorate the storming of the Bastille

Article 2. The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of men. These rights are Liberty, property, and resistance to oppression.

Article 3. The principle of all sovereignty resides in the Nation. No body of men, no individual, can exercise any authority which does not expressly emanate from the nation.

Article 4. Liberty consists in being able to do anything which does not injure others. . . .

Article 5. Law has only the right to forbid actions which are injurious to society. . . .

Article 6. Law is the expression of the general will . . . It ought to be the same for all, whether to protect or to punish.

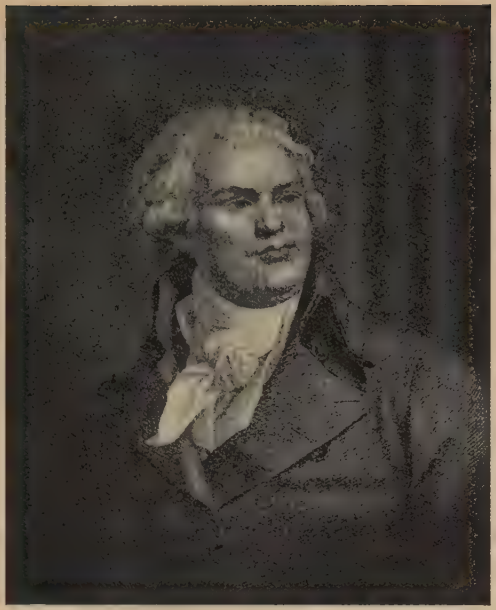
Article 7. No man can be accused, arrested, or detained, except in the cases determined by the Law.

The final Article, No. 17, is :

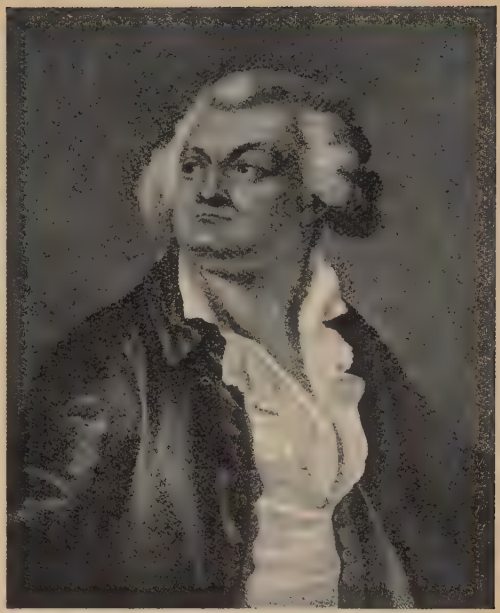
Property being an inviolable and sacred right, nobody can be deprived of it, except when the public necessity, legally determined, clearly requires it, and on condition of a just and previous compensation.

On the 5th October 1789 a Paris mob went out to Versailles and forced King Louis XVI and his family to come and stay in Paris. The Constituent Assembly also transferred itself thither. A Constitution was at last made for France, called ' The Constitution of 1791 '. The monarchy was to be Constitutional, with only a suspensory veto over legislation ; and legislation was to be in the hands of a single-chamber Parliament. The twelve Provinces of France, which had kept alive local, almost separatist, feeling, were abolished ; instead, France was divided into 83 Departments. These Departments, being new administrative areas, could not be mutually separatist in feeling. The feeling of national unity and centralization was further strengthened by the Jacobin Club, a political association in which Robespierre was the chief member. The centre of the Jacobin Club was in Paris : it had subordinate or affiliated societies in every city and town in France. By the republican propaganda which it carried on throughout the country, and by its control of local societies and their members, the Jacobin Club prepared the way for that system of centralization, which the new Constitution partially established and which Napoleon completed. Thus France, which according to the events of 1789 might have become a Federation of sovereign or semi-sovereign Provinces, like Switzerland or the United States, took its modern form of a perfectly Unitary State.

In April 1791 Mirabeau, who had become the King's chief adviser, died. In June the King, now (and not without reason) thoroughly alarmed at his position, attempted to emigrate with his family, as so many of the nobility had done. His carriage got



Danton



Mirabeau

nearly to Verdun, when it was stopped at Varennes, and the Royal Family was brought back to Paris.

From this moment the King was a prisoner in his capital. The Government was, in all but name, a Republic. A new legislative Assembly (soon to be known as the Convention) was elected, in which the chief party or group were the members for the Gironde region. The Girondins looked upon themselves as Romans of the antique kind: they aimed at making a solid, republican State, but they might have kept a titular monarchy, shorn of all power, had they not felt France to be in danger from counter-revolutionary attacks from without. It was this that made the Girondins declare war upon Austria in April 1792. It was the suspicion that the King was in league with the enemy which aroused the mob to storm the King's lodging in the Tuileries on the 10th August, when his Swiss Guard was massacred. The King and Queen were confined in prison, which they only left to meet their death at the guillotine. Louis XVI was executed on the 21st January 1793, Marie-Antoinette on the 16th October of the same year.

'By the beginning of the year 1793 France ought to have consumed herself', says Sorel, 'in anarchy.[1] All the normal signs had manifested themselves there: no government, no finances, no army, civil war, factions in alliance with the enemy outside.' The armies of Austria and Prussia were penetrating French territory, while the country was torn by civil war.

From these calamities France was saved by the Committee of Public Safety, appointed in April 1793. This was a body which consisted at first of nine men, but was gradually increased to sixteen. It was elected out of and by the Convention. The chief members were Boissy d'Anglas, Merlin of Douai, Lazare Carnot, Danton, and Robespierre. This Committee, under authority of the Convention, conducted all the domestic and foreign affairs of France: collected the taxes, raised the troops, made war, conducted negotiations. The Convention continued to hold important debates, to discuss policy, to enact laws: but the Committee of Public Safety was the Executive Government,

[1] Sorel. *L'Europe et la Révolution française* (1903), vol. iv, p. 1.

" The Republic is one and indivisible. The French People are distributed, for the exercise of their sovereignty, into Primary Assemblies: they are distributed, for administration and justice, into Departments, Districts, and Municipalities. Every man born in France, of 21 years of age; every foreigner who has attained the age of 21 years, and who has lived in France upon his own labour for a year; every foreigner who has resided in France for a year, who has acquired property, or who marries a French woman, or who adopts a child, or who supports an aged man, is admitted to exercise the privileges of a French citizen. The Primary Assemblies cannot be composed of less than four hundred voters, nor of more than six hundred; all Citizens brought up in a district, or who may have resided in it for three months, shall have the right of suffrage in the Primary Assemblies; no one in arms can assist at them: the suffrages upon laws shall be given by Yes or No. Deputies shall be sent to the Legislative Body in the proportion of one Deputy to 50,000 souls. The Electoral Assemblies shall name the candidates, among whom the Legislative Body shall choose 24 citizens, who shall compose the Executive Council. Half of this Council shall be replaced every year:—it can only act in virtue of laws and decrees; it shall name agents, and shall negociate treaties, which must be ratified by the Legislative Body. A Grand Jury shall be formed to protect citizens, who may be oppressed by either the Legislative Body, or the Executive Council. This Jury cannot apply the law, but must send to the Tribunals for that purpose. The National Conventions must sit within 20 leagues of the Legislative Body. The French People declare themselves the friends of Free Nations; they will not interfere in the Government of other countries, and will not suffer other nations to meddle with theirs. They declare, that they will grant an asylum to Foreigners oppressed for their attachment to Liberty, but they refuse such protection to Tyrants."

This plan, which ROBESPIERRE said was the most superb monument of human reason, was ordered to be printed, and ten copies to be given to each Member. It is also to be sent to the Departments and to the armies.

An English résumé of the Constitution of the French Republic

A newspaper cutting of the time

a compact, efficient, powerful Cabinet. Under its dynamic impulse France experienced a veritable national revival. Carnot organized national conscription, the *levée en masse*, with tremendous energy and consummate ability, and the young armies of the Republic carried victory on the point of their bayonets. 'It was the time', says Soult, 'when I worked hardest, and when the leaders were most exacting.... It was the period of the war when there was most virtue in the troops.' [1]

In the Pantheon, the grand temple of fame which the Republic dedicated to its great men, there is a magnificent sculptural group of those soldiers of the early Republic. A young general, his long hair beneath the cocked hat, coming down to his military tunic, is riding along, accompanied by half a dozen soldiers on foot. Every man is young, keen faced, ardent, with the look of an eagle scanning the world for miles in advance. There is an expression of indomitable energy and purposefulness in them, and the onlooker understands how these men, ragged, starving, but with songs in their hearts, cast the foreigner out of France, and hoisted the tricolour, their flag of freedom as they passionately believed it to be, beyond the Rhine and the Alps.

The war which began with Austria in 1792 soon came to involve the whole of Western Europe. The first Power to join with Austria was Prussia. The combined forces at first carried everything before them. The great fortresses of Longwy and Verdun fell before their arms, and the Allied Army penetrated deep into France. On the 20th September, however, General Dumouriez threw them back in 'the cannonade of Valmy', near Sainte-Ménehould on the Marne (1792). After this, successes came like flashes of lightning upon an astonished world. Savoy and Nice, provinces of the Kingdom of Sardinia, were occupied by a French army. Belgium was invaded; the Austrian garrisons were expelled, Antwerp was seized, and the Scheldt was declared (contrary to the Treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht) open to commerce (November 1792). This act brought the British Government into the war; for both George III and Pitt, though desirous not to interfere in the domestic affairs of France,

[1] Soult, *Mémoires* (1834), i. 198–9.

were inflexibly determined to uphold the existing system of international relations. Other States joined in the Coalition—Holland, Spain, Naples, the Empire. But the French armies went on conquering; the great city of Mayence, the capital of the Ecclesiastical Electorate of Mayence, had been taken by General Custine in 1792. The conquest of Belgium was completed by the battle of Fleurus (25 June 1794).

Now the appetite of the French grew with feeding. The more ground they conquered the more they wanted. The whole nation demanded that at least the 'natural frontiers' should be secured —the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees. The line of the Pyrenees was already the boundary between France and Spain (Treaty of the Pyrenees, 1659); but the Alps and Rhine had still to be conquered. The battle of Fleurus, laying the whole of Belgium at the feet of the French and opening the way into Holland, made the attainment of the Rhine frontier, for the moment at any rate, an easy task.

But would the States of Europe, in particular would England, tolerate a powerful, military, revolutionary France permanently commanding the mouths of the Scheldt and the Rhine? The history of the last two centuries answered, NO! And yet the French pressed forward to the Rhine. Thus the battle of Fleurus, while it saved France from invasion, also made the war almost perpetual; made it last for twenty-two years until the Allies had driven France from the Rhine and the Scheldt.

For a time, however, all went well. Carnot's *levée en masse* produced armies to a total of 600,000 men. The young generals went on winning victories, which the Committee of Public Safety were skilful enough to use in order to strengthen their diplomacy. They employed an old diplomatist, the Comte de Barthélemy, to break up the Coalition and to negotiate a favourable peace. Barthélemy had been trained under Vergennes (1717–87), the most eminent Foreign Minister of the *Ancien Régime*, and knew his business well. After long conferences he negotiated the Treaties of Bâle with Prussia and Spain (1795). Peace was made with these States, and the Prussian territories on the left bank of the Rhine passed to France.

With success abroad, political conditions were steadily becoming more stable at home. First the Constitution of 1791 (see p. 558) had given place to a ' war government ' or Committee of Public Safety and National Convention. In 1795 a more normal form of Constitution was established, known as the Constitution of the Year III. This provided for a triple form of Assembly—a Legislative Body, a Council of Five Hundred, and a Council of Ancients—with a Cabinet of Five Directors chosen by the two Councils. Under this system, ' The Directory ', as it was called, France functioned normally ; many *émigrés* returned from abroad, and Paris again became the brilliant capital that it had once been. Miot de Melito, one of the observant memoir-writers of the time, says that people had put off the austere Republican style and were wearing dress-swords and carrying their three-cornered hats under their arm, like the old noblesse.

The Directory, however, could not achieve a European peace. They could not give up the grand conquest of the Revolution, the ' natural frontiers ' or, as these were now called, the ' constitutional limits '. For by one of the last Acts of the Convention (1 October 1795) the Rhine frontier had entered into the laws of France. It was this frontier that Great Britain and Austria were determined to undo. So, in spite of the break-up of the Coalition by the treaties of Bâle, they fought on. But the Directors, in the less stirring domestic conditions of 1795 and 1796, became slack-spirited. They took to making money, keeping up big houses, dining and dancing. With social corruption came military inefficiency. Their armies began to lose battles. The most famous of the young generals was Lazare Hoche, a warrior without fear and without reproach, knight-errant of hope, who, by force of valour and magnanimity would have solved the enigma.[1]

Hoche, however, died of consumption at the age of twenty-nine, with the peace still unachieved. By the middle of the year 1796 the French armies in Italy and on the Rhine were yielding ground. At home the Directors had lost grip : the administration was feeble, self-indulgent, corrupt. The people were beginning again

[1] Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, tome v, p. 225.

A

LIST OF PERSONS

CONSPICUOUS IN THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION,

And their Fate. to 1795

N. B. Thofe names with the initials M. C. were Members of the Convention, who voted for the death of Louis XVI.
Thofe with an X did not vote for the death of the King, yet became eminent in the Revolution.
G. General of their Republican Army.

A.

Achille Duchaffelet	G	Died in prifon.
Albert Roüé	G	Guillotined.
Amiral	X	Ditto.
Anacharfis Cloots	M C	Ditto.
Antiboul	X	Ditto.

B.

Baily, firft Mayor of Paris	X	Guillotined.
Barnave	X	Ditto.

Chatelet (Duke of)	X	Ditto.
Chomette	X	Ditto.
Chambon	M C	Maffacred by the mob.
Champford	X	Killed himfelf with a razor.
Chancel	G	Guillotined.
Chapui	G	Prifoner.
Claviere	X	Killed himfelf.
Collet d'Herbois	M C	Banifhed to Guyenne, South America.
Coutard	X	Guillotined.
Couthon	M C	Ditto.
Cuftine	G	Ditto.
Cuftine (his fon)	X	Ditto.
Cuffy	X	Ditto.

D.

Dampiere	G	Died of his wounds.
Danton	M C	Guillotined.
Daouft	G	Ditto.
Dagobert	G	Died in his army
Daveines	G	Guillotined.
Deftaing (Admiral)		Ditto.
Delaunay	M C	Ditto.
Delatre	G	Ditto.
Deverges	G	Ditto.
Defiers	G	Ditto.
Dillon, Arthur	G	Ditto.
Delaporte	X	Ditto.
Dortoman	G	Ditto.
Donadieu	G	Ditto.
Duc d'Orleans	M C	Ditto.
Drouet	M C	Prifoner of war.
Ducos	M C	Guillotined.

L.

Lanne (Joſeph)		Guillotined.
La Source	M C	Ditto.
La Borde	X	Ditto.
La Caſe	X	Ditto.
La Croix	M C	Ditto.
Lamarliere	G	Ditto.
Lavalette	G	Ditto.
Launay (P. F. G.)	X	Ditto.
Laurent	X	Ditto.
Le Bas	M C	Killed himfelf.
Le Brun	X	Guillotined.
Lechelle	G	Poiſoned himfelf.
Lezard	X	Guillotined.
L'Huillier	X	Killed himfelf with a razor.
Le Pelletier	M C	Killed by a Royaliſt.
Le Roy (pierre)	X	Guillotined
Le Hardy	X	Ditto.
Leſtanduere	G	Ditto.
Luckner	G	Ditto.
Latude (Baron)	X	Ditto.
Louis (claude chatelet)	X	Ditto.
Louis (Jean)	X	Ditto.
Lochefer	X	Ditto.

M.

Mainville	X	Guillotined.
Marat	M C	Killed by Charlotte Cordé.
Manuel	X	Guillotined.
Marcé	G	Ditto.
Mazinſky	G	Ditto.

Milanois	X	Guillotined.
Mirabel	G	Killed before Bellegarde.
Momoro	X	Guillotined.
Moulin	G	Shot himfelf with a piſtol.
Monaco, Prince	X	Guillotined.

N.

Nion	M C	Guillotined.
Noel	X	Ditto.

O.

Omoran	G	Guillotined.
Orleans (Duke of)	M C	Ditto.

P.

Philipeaux	M C	Guillotined.
Populus	X	Ditto.
Pommier	X	Ditto.
Payan, C. F.	X	Ditto.

Q.

Quetiniau	G	Ditto.

R.

Rabaut Pommier	M C	Guillotined.
Rabaut de St. Etienne	X	Ditto.
Rabaud the younger	X	Ditto.
Rebecky	M C	Drowned himfelf.
Robertſpierre	M C	Guillotined.
Robertſpierre, jun.	M C	Ditto.

to suffer from want, while hordes of 'profiteers'—army contractors and speculators in national loans and properties—battened on the distresses of the people. Some improvement, indeed, had taken place since 1793. France had been cleared of foreign foes; and the awful Reign of Terror was a thing of the past. The Terror lasted from September 1793 to the fall and execution of Robespierre in July 1794. It was meet that Robespierre, the chief author of the judicial murders of the Terror, should himself fall by the same agency. But though France under the Directory (1795–9) settled down into comparative quietness, the administration was rotten and unsafe; corruption was everywhere. It was at this conjuncture that Bonaparte strode forward to save the Revolution.

Supplementary Dates

XIII

1789 Sieyès's *Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?*
1793 Condorcet's *Tableau du Progrès de l'Esprit humain.*
1794 André Chénier's *Poésies.*
Madame Roland's *Mémoires.*

XIV

NAPOLEON

Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed by the Directory to the command of the Army of Italy on the 27th February 1796, when he was twenty-six years old. Until then his career had not been distinguished. Other generals, younger than he, had risen higher. He had been withdrawn from active service in 1796, and for six months had hovered around the military bureaus in Paris, offering various plans which his fertile brain produced. At last his chance came when the Director, Paul Barras, whose attention he had attracted, procured him the appointment to the Army of Italy. Then Bonaparte's genius burst upon the world and was instantly recognized.

The war of the French Republic against Austria, at first a defensive struggle, was now offensive. France was attacking the Austrians in their Rhenish and Italian dominions. Bonaparte was fortunate to secure the easier theatre of war, Lombardy, where the Austrians were themselves strangers amid an unfriendly population. He made the most of his opportunity. In 1796 he defeated the Austrians at Lodi (May) and Arcola (November) ; in 1797, at Rivoli and Castiglione. He captured Milan (1796) and Mantua in 1797 ; he exposed his person freely in the hottest fray, and snatching victory from defeat became a figure of legendary fame, the ' Little Corporal '. From Lombardy, passing through Venetian territory, he followed the Austrian armies into Carinthia ; and finally, acting as diplomatic plenipotentiary as well as General, he concluded the Peace of Campo Formio with the Austrian plenipotentiary, Cobenzl, at Campo Formio, on the 17th October 1797.

By the terms of the treaty, France received the Belgic provinces of Austria, thus securing (with the Prussian territory gained at the Treaty of Bâle) practically the whole of the left

bank of the Rhine. Only Holland held the mouths of the Rhine; but Holland had been conquered too (1795), and under the name of the Batavian Republic was now practically a French dependency.

In Italy, also, the French Republic secured a great accession of power. By the Treaty of Campo Formio, Austria recognized the existence of a 'Cisalpine Republic' formed out of Austria's former province of Lombardy. As compensation for this cession, the Treaty allowed the Austrians to annex Venice, which Bonaparte had occupied in the course of the campaign. Thus there disappeared that famous Republic which, with the exception of the Papal State, was the oldest in Europe.

The French Republic had started with very fine ideals, but none of these was to be seen in this celebrated Peace of Campo Formio. The treaty had all the marks of the worst side of eighteenth-century diplomacy. It transferred peoples and lands without any respect to feelings of justice or nationality. It represented a policy of conquest and imperialism which was to bring the French nation to the disasters of Moscow and Waterloo.

The Republic had become not merely imperialistic; it had become predatory and parasitical. Wherever the French armies went the inhabitants had to pay large sums in tribute. A financial officer of the Directory accompanied each commander-in-chief to collect the indemnities. Every treaty arranged with a minor State (such as Tuscany, the Papal States, or Naples) stipulated for the payment of a tribute and for the handing over of valuable pictures, statues, and works of art. The French Republic was making a trade of war: it was really a Pirate State.

In the intervals during fighting and diplomacy Bonaparte had been holding almost a Court at Mombello, a fine château near Milan. He was no longer the simple Republican General: he was 'Caesar in Gaul'. He surrounded himself with a staff of high officers and all the great men of the land came to seek his favour. When he returned to France, towards the end of the year 1797, he was already becoming too great for the vacillating and inefficient Directory. In 1798, however, they sent him off on an expedition, which he himself had suggested, to conquer Egypt from the

Turks, with the prospect of going on to conquer Constantinople, and thence to pass on to take India from the English.

This great Eastern Design failed, however; although Bonaparte conquered Egypt, Nelson destroyed his fleet at the Battle of the Nile on the 1st August 1798, and cut his communications with France. A bold advance on Constantinople by way of Syria was foiled by the Turkish defence of Acre, under the leadership of Captain Sidney Smith, R.N. (1799). 'That man made me miss my destiny' was the remark which Bonaparte made years afterwards. By 'destiny' Bonaparte must have meant the conquest of the British Empire and of the world. His lesser destiny, to become lord of all France and of Western Europe, he went home to accomplish.

Bonaparte left his army in Egypt—indeed there was nothing else to do unless he would stay to become a prisoner of the English—and took ship to France. Although his navies were never successful, Bonaparte himself was always lucky at sea. On this occasion he escaped the British cruisers, and came safely to Frèjus, on the 9th October 1799. When he got to Paris he found everything again falling into disorder, and the Republican armies being beaten in Germany and Italy. A *coup d'état* or *journée* (the 18th Brumaire, 9 November 1799) sufficed to displace the Directory. A new 'Constitution of the Year VIII' was made and General Bonaparte became First Consul with Cambacérès and Lebrun as colleagues. The new legislature was analogous to that of the Directory. It was tricameral: there was a Council of State of fifty; a tribunate of a hundred, and a legislative body of three hundred members. At first Consul for ten years, Bonaparte, after a plebiscite held in 1802, became Consul for life; and in 1804, by an easy amendment of the Constitution, he became Emperor.

From December 1799, when he became First Consul, to June 1815, when he set forth for the campaign of Waterloo, Bonaparte (or Napoleon as he called himself from 1804) devoted himself wholeheartedly to administering and improving the affairs of France and, to a great extent also, of Germany and Italy. He would undoubtedly have been pleased to have had peace. Indeed

peace was his perpetual aim as First Consul and Emperor; and that is why diplomacy came more and more to occupy his time and energy. But the peace that he wanted (and the only peace which France at that time would accept) was one which would leave to France the whole of the Rhine frontier and Lombardy. These frontiers the other Powers of Europe would not permanently allow; so to meet the assaults of Europe on the lines of the rivers Rhine and Po, Napoleon's armies had to go farther on, into Central Germany and into Southern Italy—to Vienna, Berlin, Rome. Even here stability was not reached. Renewed assaults by the few remaining free States of Europe necessitated the farther advance of Imperial France, to Warsaw and to Moscow, combined with a continual effort to advance to London and Bombay. But no Power can go on for ever conquering the world. The war which in 1793 had been a war for the Rhine frontier, by 1812 became, through a perfectly natural process of development, a war for the world. And it ended with the defeat of the world's aggressor at the hands of the once dormant national forces which he had aroused.

The war with Europe was not continuous. When the Constitution of the Year VIII—the Consulate—was made, Austria was again at war with France; England had never made peace since entering into hostilities in 1793. The campaign and battle of Marengo in 1800 finished off the Austrian War; and by the Treaty of Lunéville, February 1801, France obtained Austrian recognition of her frontier (with extensions) on the Rhine and Po. In 1801 even Great Britain entered into a preliminary peace which was confirmed in 1802 by the Treaty of Amiens. Thus, although the Peace of Amiens only provided a breathing-space, there were no hostilities at all for eighteen months (October 1801–May 1803) with England, and none with Austria for over four years (February 1801–August 1805). These years were the happiest for the French Empire and were the period of Napoleon's most fruitful constructive work.

In 1805, Great Britain being again at war with France, William Pitt managed to arrange a Coalition with Austria and Russia. Nelson's victory at Trafalgar (21 October 1805) put an end to

Napoleon helps himself to Europe, while Pitt holds the sea for England

Gillray's cartoon of 1805

Napoleon's sea-power, but on land Austria was again beaten to her knees at the battle of Austerlitz (2 December). 'Roll up the map of Europe,' said Pitt, 'it will not be wanted these ten years.' Peace was made between France and Austria by the Treaty of Pressburg (26 December 1805), France annexing Venice. The Tsar Alexander I of Russia remained in the war for another year and a half, but at last made peace by the Treaty of Tilsit, the 7th July 1807. Prussia, which late in time had joined in the war after Austerlitz and had been overwhelmed at Jena (14 October 1806), also made peace at Tilsit. Napoleon took the Prussian territory between the Rhine and the Elbe and made it into a Kingdom of Westphalia for his brother, Jerome.

Thus, by midsummer 1807, Europe was practically at peace, for England could not engage the French armies on land, and France could not engage the English fleets on the sea. Napoleon was organizing his territorial gains and protecting his frontiers by a system of dependent buffer States. As far back as the year 1801, by the Treaty of Lunéville, and again in 1803, by using his influence at the German Imperial Diet of Ratisbon, Napoleon had procured the suppression of all the Ecclesiastical States of Germany: their territories, being 'secularized', were distributed among the medium-sized lay Principalities. In 1806, as the result of Napoleon's conquests, a large number of tiny German States and the insignificant dominions of the 'Free Imperial Knights' were suppressed and likewise distributed. As a result of all this the political map of Germany was greatly simplified. Instead of some three hundred and fifty States and Statelets it now consisted of some fifty. Boundaries became more reasonably drawn; and instead of powerless little bodies, medium-sized States of quite respectable size became the rule in Western Germany. At the same time the Free Imperial Cities, those havens of liberty, commerce, and the arts in the Middle Ages, were, all but six, extinguished.

The modern-sized States, which had been increased in size, like Baden, Hesse, Saxony, or which had been newly created, like the Kingdom of Westphalia and the Grand Duchy of Berg, were made in 1806 into a Confederation of the Rhine, a League of

Nelson's quarry : A French ship of the line

From the 'Encyclopédie Méthodique Marine'

which Napoleon was Protector. The armies of the Confederate States were bound to serve for France. When the Duchy of Warsaw, which Napoleon had created out of the former Poland at the Tilsit Peace, joined the Confederation (1807), the French Imperial power reached to the Vistula.

In 1808 Napoleon sent troops under various pretexts into Spain, and induced King Charles IV and the degenerate Infante, Ferdinand, to come and see him at Bayonne (May 1808). There both King and Infante were induced to surrender their rights and to retire to a French château with pensions (to be paid by the Spanish Government). Napoleon's elder brother, Joseph, was then made King of Spain. But the Spaniards revolted against this imposition; and a French general, Dupont, was forced to surrender at Baylen (July 1808). It was more than a local affair. Dupont had only 18,000 men. It was the first real military disaster that Napoleon had suffered since he became Emperor, and although he made little of it, the report spread like suppressed fire through Europe and inflamed the peoples to rise and do the same. The capitulation of Baylen restarted the Continental War, and it enabled England to do what had hitherto been impossible, to make contact with the French armies on the mainland. In 1808 a British army under Wellesley was sent to the Peninsula, and a breach was made in the hitherto impregnable land-system of the French Empire. If Napoleon had stopped at the Pyrenees, this would not have happened.

In the year 1809, Austria, impelled by the noble Chancellor, Count Stadion, again took up arms. This time it was a real national war; men were trained locally in regiments, and the landowners were commissioned to officer the troops raised from their own district. The students of Vienna University and even the boys of the schools volunteered for service. It was no longer the old Austrian conscript army; it was the *levée en masse* which Carnot had used with such success in '93. It was not successful this time: after two fine actions at Aspern and Essling, the Austrian Commander, the Archduke Charles, was defeated by Napoleon at Wagram (July 1809). But the Austrian national

effort shook Napoleon's Empire. Germany was full of gazette-writers and pamphleteers—of whom the greatest was Gentz (1764–1832)—debating-clubs and secret societies, all educating public opinion against the tyranny of France. The Austrian War was the first time that any Continental Government had made use of this national feeling against France ; it lit a candle which could not be put out.[1]

The Austrian War was terminated by the Treaty of Vienna (sometimes called Treaty of Schönbrunn), October 1809. The Habsburg Empire lost a great part of Galicia, which was given to the Duchy of Warsaw. Austria was now a purely Danubian Empire, cut off from the Adriatic and the Rhine. Her monarch in 1806 had abdicated the throne of the Holy Roman Empire (which ceased to exist), and had continued to reign as Francis I, Emperor of Austria. After the Treaty of Schönbrunn the Austrian Government, now guided by the subtle Metternich in place of Stadion, seemed to abandon all hope of withstanding French domination. The Emperor's daughter, Marie-Louise, was married to Napoleon, who had divorced his first wife Josephine, and was anxious, by a new marriage, to enter the charmed circle of the ancient European dynasties.

So at last the French Empire (except for the English War) was at peace. At the end of the year 1810 it extended along the north coast of Germany to the Oder, having annexed the Hanseatic cities. The Duchy of Warsaw (of which the King of Saxony was Duke) maintained an army for the service of France on the Vistula. In Italy the Papal States had been annexed in 1808 ; one of Napoleon's Marshals, Joachim Murat, was King of Naples ; the former Cisalpine Republic with Genoa and Tuscany was called the Kingdom of Italy, and Napoleon's son (born in 1811) was made king of it. Switzerland, reorganized as a Federal State by Napoleon's Act of Mediation in 1801, was bound by treaty to France and had to maintain four regiments for the French Service.

[1] ' The measures which Austria took in 1809 were the first and unique example of the advantage which a Government can draw from the spirit of its subjects ' (from the *Archives Nationales*, 7 Feb. 1811, A.F. (v. 1656)).

Wherever Napoleon went splendour reigned. Paris was now assuming its modern aspect. In the stately Place Vendôme, spacious, airy, surrounded by magnificent houses of the classical period, Napoleon erected an enormous column of iron, made out of cannon which were captured at Austerlitz. In the Place du Carrousel, which has only three sides, formed by the three wings of the Louvre Palace, the Emperor built the beautiful arch, to commemorate the victories of 1805, and the Peace of Pressburg and Tilsit. On the height above the Champs-Élysées he began the splendid and enormous *Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile*. A citizen of Paris in the year 1812, taking his stand in the Place de la Concorde, with his back to the Tuileries Palace, could look between the trees, and up the Avenue des Champs-Élysées, straight to where, on the sky-line, stood the magnificent Arc de Triomphe, half-built, yet majestic, crowning the long ridge above the city of Paris.

Music, the theatre, and specially the art of sculpture flourished. Canova came from Rome to Paris, and added to the artistic treasures there. A new aristocracy was created to make the Imperial court brilliant. Princes, dukes, and counts were created out of famous marshals and skilled administrators. They were endowed with pensions from the conquered lands, and they bought or built fine mansions in Paris, and took estates in the surrounding country. Only the war in Spain and on the sea marred all this splendour and magnificence. The Spanish War could never be ended so long as Britain was free to feed it. So the last thing that remained for Napoleon to do was to force Britain to make peace. But how? Fighting had been tried and fighting could not do it. The last weapon was the blockade: to starve England or at least stop her export-commerce and make her bankrupt. So at last would Napoleon be at peace.

The Continental System which Napoleon devised for this purpose was not a blockade of England, for Napoleon had no sea-power with which to accomplish this. It was a blockade of the French Empire (and its allied States) by itself. Napoleon controlled most of Europe, and Europe was nearly self-sufficing in food-stuffs and raw materials. Therefore by decrees issued

at Berlin in 1806 and Milan in 1807, all States under the dominion of France or in alliance with her were debarred from trading with England. The result was expected to be painful for Europe, to raise prices and make life difficult. But if the same results were produced in England in an intensified degree, then the war would be won, for England would be starved out first.

Disappointment, however, was in store for Napoleon. The Continental System caused anxiety to the British Government, but gradually the Navy and the merchants got the situation 'in hand'. The System was calculated by Napoleon to be a blockade of Great Britain, but 'Bonaparte might equally well have pretended to blockade the moon' said the celebrated orator, Erskine, in the House of Lords in 1808. The Continental System impoverished all the communities that submitted to it. The famous commercial and banking cities of Frankfort, Hamburg, and Danzig were deserted by trade. Napoleon himself found it necessary to relax the System and to issue licences to individual traders or companies to buy their raw-material from English colonies. Smuggling by English ships became a regular, profitable, and comparatively safe business, being conducted through Heligoland, which the British Navy held, or through Holland, which continually evaded the system. Finally Alexander of Russia became wearied of the whole thing, abandoned the system and told Napoleon that he was going to trade as he chose.[1] This action, along with other causes of friction, put an end to the Tilsit alliance, and produced the Moscow Expedition.

The Russian War of 1812 was Napoleon's biggest effort and his biggest failure. The occupation of Moscow on the 14th September 1812 (after the terrible battle of Borodino on 7th September) was only a melancholy triumph. Alexander refused any sort of negotiation: there was nothing to do but to retreat. The Napoleonic domination of Europe fell with the snow-flakes which began softly to cover everything on 4th November. The rest of the retreat was a chaos of misery and pain, with some remnants of order saved by a few strong men like Ney. But when the men

[1] This was practically the result of the *Ukase* of 31 December 1810, by which Alexander placed a prohibitive tariff on imported French goods.

struggled back into Germany the Grand Army had completely disintegrated.

Then the resurgent forces of German patriotism, infused with the ideals of a philosopher like Fichte, of poets like Körner and Arndt, of statesmen like Stein, gathered from all sides. Prussia was the first Continental State to join with Alexander. English officers and diplomatists were at hand, ready to rebuild the old Coalition; Wellington was pressing back Soult in the Peninsula to the Pyrenees. The battles round Dresden (26–7 August 1813) and Leipzig (16–19 October) brought no rest to Napoleon or to his newly-raised armies of raw conscripts. By November his armies were back at the Rhine, and Austria had joined in the war. In January 1814 the Russo-Prusso-Austrian armies pressed forward on French soil. On the 1st March 1814, Castlereagh's great work, the Treaty of Chaumont, was made: the Governments fighting against Napoleon formed a Grand Alliance. The French Emperor could still have had peace and preserved his Empire, reduced to the frontier of 1795; but he doggedly insisted on keeping Antwerp and refused to see that he was lost. On the 25th March the ban of the Allies went forth against him. He was to be dethroned. On the 31st March the Allied troops entered Paris, while Wellington's army, having forced the Pyrenees, was preparing to fight the last battle of the Peninsular War outside Toulouse.

When the Allies entered Paris, Napoleon was at Fontainebleau with Marshals Ney and Macdonald, and his chief civil advisers, Caulaincourt and Maret. He still had an army, reduced to about 30,000 men, but no Government; for another *journée* had occurred in Paris and a Provincial Government, under the astute Talleyrand, ex-bishop, ex-Foreign Minister of Napoleon, had been established on the 2nd April. He still thought that he could fight on, but his Marshals forced him to make peace, and to sign an Act of Abdication. The Allies then made the Treaty of Fontainebleau with him, 11th April, giving him the formerly Neapolitan isle of Elba to reign in, and a pension secured on the *Grand Livre* of France. The Emperor departed and King Louis XVIII, brother of the martyred Louis XVI, returned to the throne of his fathers.

The retreat from Moscow
A satirical cartoon of 1812

The First Treaty of Paris

Peace with France took a little longer to arrange than the Treaty with Napoleon. The Peace, to be known as the First Treaty of Paris, was signed on the 30th May, by France on the one hand, and Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, on the other. France was reduced to the frontiers of 1793 with some highly important additions, such as Avignon, Saarbrück, and Chambéry. So, although the 'Grand Empire' as Napoleon's dominion was called, had disappeared, France remained strong and prosperous, and some of the territorial gains of the Revolution had been maintained. The restored Bourbons were friends and relatives of the reigning European families; and all the former enemies of France, now at peace with her, were allies among themselves. Thus everything promised an era of concord for a Europe suffering from twenty-two years of war.[1]

[1] For the negotiations of the years 1813–14 see *The Diplomacy of Napoleon*, by R. B. Mowat (1924), Chaps. XXIX–XXX.

Supplementary Dates

XIV

1795	Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*.
1796	Fichte's *Naturrecht*.
1797	Publication of the *Code Français*.
	Haydn's *Creation*.
	Chateaubriand's *Essai sur les révolutions*.
1799	Schiller's *Wallenstein*.
1803	Beethoven's *Fidelio*.
1805	Chateaubriand's *René* inaugurates Romanticism.
1808	Goethe's *Faust*, Part I.
	Mme de Staël's *Corinne*.
1809	Chateaubriand's *Les Martyrs*.
1810	Mme de Staël's *L'Allemagne*.
1811	Fouqué's *Undine*.
1812	Grimm's *Fairy Tales*.
	Hegel's *Logic*.
1822	Liszt's début at Vienna.
1823	Schubert's *Rosamund* music.

DEPARTURE OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

His Most Christian Majesty, the Duchess of Angouleme, the Prince De Conde, and the Duke De Bourbon, left London on Saturday morning about eight o'clock. An immense concourse of people had assembled in Albemarle-street so early as six o'clock to witness the departure of his Majesty. Between seven and eight o'clock the Duchess of Angouleme arrived with her Lady of Honour from her house in South Audley-street, to pay her dutiful reverence to her Sovereign and Uncle before his departure. her Royal Highness going from her house in South Audley street. The Prince De Conde and the Duke De Bourbon set off from the Prince's house in Lower Berkeley-street At a little after eight his Majesty descended from his apartments, and as soon as the populace saw him they saluted him with three hearty British cheers His Majesty bowed and seemed much affected. He got into the first carriage, drawn by four horses, ornamented with white ribbons The Duke De Duras accompanied him. As soon as his Majesty drove off he was again cheered, and the populace exclaimed, *God bless your Majesty— A happy return to your native country.* He bowed on each side several times. His Majesty proceeded down St. James's-street, Pall-mall, and Parliament-street, over Westminster-bridge. Several other carriages and four, and post chaises, with his Majesty's suite, followed. All the streets through which his Majesty passed were lined with spectators with the white cockade. It seemed to be *Paris in London*, so general was it in every part of the metropolis!

The Prince Regent set off about eight o'clock for Dover.

The First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Henry Paulett, and Admiral Hope, with Mr Croker, are gone down to Dover to give greater eclat to his Majesty's embarkation. His Majesty will be escorted through Kent by the Marquis of Camden, as Lord Lieutenant of the county, who has ordered the yeomanry and civil power to be in attendance upon his Majesty to Dover.

DOVER, SATURDAY, 9 O'CLOCK EVENING.—The Prince Regent and the King of France arrived here about six o'clock: they immediately went on board the Jason frigate, where they were to dine. The frigate will sail to-morrow at 12 o'clock. It is quite exhilarating to witness the symptoms of cheerfulness which this town now exhibits: a pure unaffected joy, unaccompanied with any noise or revelry, prevails throughout; and the illuminations, though consisting simply of common candles, express the honest congratulations of the people more intelligibly than the finest decorations which are on such occasions so lavishly scattered through the proud metropolis. Every house, even the meanest, is full of lights from top to bottom, the obscurest corners do not shelter themselves under the possibility of being overlooked, but take care to shine as brightly as the largest streets. The inhabitants are parading the town with white cockades and every Frenchmen who passes is sure to receive a hearty salutation of welcome. The appearance of the road from London to Dover was, if possible, still gayer than Dover itself; it seemed an univers l holyday. The day, in the early part, was remarkably fine, and every town, village, and even hamlet, poured out all its inhabitants dressed in their choicest attire and their pleasant smiles. At Gravesend the Mayor and Corporation were ranged in the Market place, wearing the ensigns of the Bourbons, and attended with music. The entrance of the town, and also that of Dartford, was lined with dragoons and foot soldiers. But the most splendid military spectacle was at Chatham, were several hundreds of the Guards were standing at their arms; next to them were stationed large bodies of cavalry, partly of the line, and partly yeomanry and volunteers. At Canterbury seemed to be collected half the population of the county, who hailed with the warmest marks of friendship and brotherhood, the passing of the different parties of French, and were enthusiastic

The return of the Bourbons

Extract taken from 'The National Register', 25 April 1814

XV

THE SETTLEMENT OF 1815

When making the first Peace of Paris in 1814, the Allies had arranged (by article 32 of the Main Treaty) to meet at Vienna in order to settle the destiny of the territories—including about thirty million people—which had been liberated from France, in Central Europe and in Italy. These territories and their inhabitants could not simply be put back to the position of 1792. Much water had flowed under the bridges since then. The task of the Congress of Vienna naturally caused the keenest interest in Europe, and every European State sent an ambassador, minister, or some sort of agent to Vienna. But though Vienna in that happy, peaceful autumn of 1814 was full of the noble royal and official classes of Europe, the Congress which held Europe's destinies in its hands numbered only the representatives of eight States, namely those which had made the Peace of Paris (Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and France). It was because the Congress was so small that its work was, on the whole, so effectively accomplished. In the social side of the Congress everybody participated: the grand Viennese nobility, from the Emperor downwards, gave splendid balls, dinners, and receptions, so that the Prince de Ligne (1735–1814) made his famous remark: *le Congrès danse, mais il ne marche pas.* But all the time small committees of the Powers were at work with their industrious civil servants: the Statistical Committee, the Committee for Swiss Affairs, for German affairs, and others. In spite of disputes, which nearly provoked war between the Allies, the draft of the settlement was in a fair way to be completed when news arrived in Vienna that Napoleon had left Elba and had landed in France (1 March 1815).

The period which followed, the Hundred Days, is not one of the decisive epochs in the world's history; it is merely a heroic epilogue to the long war which began with revolutionary France

A SIDE DISH for the CITY or LONDON FEAST. June 30th.

in 1792 and ended at the capitulation of Paris in 1814. The Hundred Days was a heroic period on the French side because they chivalrously rose to support their fallen Emperor and espoused an almost hopeless cause. On the other side it was heroic too, because the Allied Governments, fatigued and depressed with twenty-two years of war and deferred hope, and now at last taking quiet breath in a hardly won peace, had to take up arms again and lead their weary peoples to the war.

The Allies never hesitated. Fortunately they were all present in Vienna in the persons of their plenipotentiaries, when Napoleon made his dramatic landing. At once they declared him an outlaw of Europe, drew the bands of their alliance closer by a new treaty (25 March 1815) and recalled their troops to the Colours. It was with a comparatively raw army that Wellington took the field. In 1812 Great Britain and the United States had gone to war owing to a dispute concerning maritime law; and although peace had been made at Ghent on the 24th December 1814, the veteran Peninsular troops were still in America, where they had been sent after the First Peace of Paris. Yet although Wellington's army might have been defeated at Waterloo, the worst that could have ensued to the Allied cause would have been the recognition of Napoleon as Emperor of France with the limits of 1792. But Napoleon would not have been content for long with this, and would have gone on disturbing Europe to the end of his life. That is why the battle of Waterloo (18 June 1815) was worth fighting. Before it had taken place, the Allied plenipotentiaries had rapidly completed their work at Vienna and had signed the General Act on 9 June 1815.

The Congress of Vienna planned its settlement with the deliberate aim of making a balance of power among the large and medium-sized States of Europe. It tried to do this in conjunction with the principle of *legitimacy* or *restoration*. It did not, however, attempt to restore all the Governments which had suffered from the French Revolution or Napoleon. Austria, for instance, did not ask to be restored to the Belgic provinces. Nor was the old Constitution of the United Netherlands restored; instead, a new crown was created for the Prince of Orange, who

Waterloo

A photograph of the seventies

became King William I of the Netherlands. This new monarchy included the territories of the former Dutch republic and the Belgic provinces.

Nor were the former Republics of Genoa or Venice restored. Genoa was incorporated in the kingdom of Sardinia; Venice and the coast of Dalmatia were annexed to Austria, which also received back Lombardy. The Congress of Vienna, owing to the events of 1793, was not very favourable to republics.

Other states which were not restored were Poland, and most of the Free Imperial Cities of Germany. Poland had been diminished by the partition of 1772, carried out by Russia, Austria, and Prussia; it had been further cut down by another partition at the hands of Russia and Prussia in 1793; and had been extinguished altogether by a partition (done by Austria, Russia, and Prussia) in 1795. Napoleon in 1807, by the Treaty of Tilsit, had re-established a large part of Poland in the Duchy of Warsaw. But its Duke, the King of Saxony, as Napoleon's ally (he had received his title of King from the French Emperor) received no consideration from the Congress of Vienna; the Duchy of Warsaw was divided between Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The Kingdom of Saxony itself lost about one-third of its territory to Prussia.

On the other hand there was another state which had received very indifferent treatment in the eighteenth century and at the hands of Napoleon. This was the Papacy. Napoleon had suppressed the Papal State (or Papal States, as they were usually called), and had removed Pope Pius VII to Fontainebleau. The temporal power of the Pope was restored by the Congress of Vienna. The Bourbon King of Naples and Sicily was also restored, as well as the rulers of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. Thus the united Italy which Napoleon had, in a partial way, created, and for which poets like Manzoni blessed him, became a thing of the past—and of the future.

Napoleon's work in Switzerland—the creation of a strong federal constitution, with equal rights for all the cantons—was confirmed and developed. In addition, the Congress of Vienna enacted that Switzerland was to be a neutral state under the guarantee of all the signing Powers.

The joy produced amongst the prisoners of war at Norman Cross, by the change of affairs in France, is quite extravagant and indescribable. A large white flag is set up in each of the quadrangles of the depot, under which the thousands of poor fellows who have been for years in confinement through the cruel ambition of Buonaparte, dance, sing, laugh, and cry for joy, and produce a bedlam of delight.—Two hundred and fifty of the poor fellows were marched away on Monday for France, and the same number on Thursday: they are in exchange for those of our countrymen who were taken by the French at the late unfortunate attack on Bergen-op-Zoom.

Extract from 'The National Register', 25 April 1814

BUONAPARTE

August 11, 1815.—The Northumberland was still off Plymouth lying to on Wednesday. It is supposed she is waiting for the Havannah frigate, the Ceylon, Weazel, and some storeships.

As a great deal of misapprehension appears to exist on the subject of St Helena as a proper place for the confinement of Bonaparte, we cannot avoid observing that the sentiments of many of our correspondents are founded upon the supposition—First, that Bonaparte is to be at liberty on that island. Secondly, that neutral neutral vessels are to have access to it. Thirdly, the garrison is not to be trusted, and that the island does not belong to the Crown, but to the East India Company. With respect to the first objection, we can assure our readers that there is no intention of suffering Bonaparte to be at liberty in the island; he will be as regularly guarded and confined as he could be in England, and permitted only to take air and exercise when properly attended. In the second place all neutrals whatever will be excluded from the island as long as Bonaparte is to continue a prisoner there; so that no danger on this account can possibly exist. In the third place he will be placed under the custody of a General Officer in the King's service, and of a British Admiral; the former will have the government of the island under the present circumstances. The garrison of the East India Company will be reduced or wholly withdrawn, and the island will be garrisoned by a King's regiment. With these securities we should be glad to know what place in the world would be half so secure for a State Prisoner at St. Helena? In addition to all the ordinary securities of confinement, you have the advantage of a small island many hundred miles from any land, remote from Europe, with a scanty population, and a station from which alone it is practicable and easy to exclude all neutral trade, and indeed all communication whatever.

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Extract from 'The National Register', 21 August 1815

In Germany the Holy Roman Empire was not restored, nor were the Ecclesiastical States nor Free Imperial Cities, which Napoleon had suppressed between 1801 and 1806. A Confederation of thirty-eight States (thirty-four monarchies or principalities and four Free Imperial Cities) was instituted, with Austria as perpetual president, and with a Federal Diet representing each State.

The Congress of Vienna

Norway was detached from Denmark and joined to Sweden, which was ruled over by one of Napoleon's Marshals, Bernadotte. This soldier had been adopted with Napoleon's very grudging consent by the last Vasa King (Charles XIII) in 1810. Bernadotte identified himself thoroughly with his adopted country, became a Lutheran, and led the Swedes on the Allied side against Napoleon in 1814. Subsequently, as Charles XIV, he reigned over Sweden and Norway from 1818–44.

The victory of the Allies at Waterloo confirmed the work of the Congress of Vienna. There only remained now to settle terms with the French people, who could no longer, as they had

done in the Peace of Paris in 1814, throw all the responsibility of the war upon Napoleon. The Emperor himself was debarred from public affairs and imprisoned in St. Helena; and France (by the second Peace of Paris, 20th November 1815) was penalized for having welcomed Napoleon back from Elba and for fighting the Hundred Days War by losing Chambéry and Saarbrück and Landau. An indemnity of 700,000,000 francs was also imposed upon her. Louis XVIII was again restored to his ancestral throne. Napoleon (in a proclamation to the Old Guard on the 1st March 1815) had said that the Bourbons, restored after twenty-two years' exile to France, had 'learned nothing and forgotten nothing'. Time was to show.

The Treaty of Vienna was the Charter of the European States System. It was indeed, says Gentz (who was Secretary of the Congress of Vienna), 'very far from being what it could have been, and what it ought to have been. . . . It is filled with imperfections and *lacunae*. It has the look of a provisional arrangement rather than of a work destined to last for centuries.' Nevertheless, Gentz maintained that the efforts of the Congress had overcome many troublesome details, difficult questions, and thorny arrangements. 'Nothing now will impede the Cabinets from working on the grand scale. The Treaty has cleared the ground on which it will be possible to raise a better social edifice.'[1]

[1] For the Congress of Vienna see *A History of European Diplomacy, 1815–1914* (1922), by R. B. Mowat, Chap. II; C. K. Webster, *Congress of Vienna* (1919) and *British Diplomacy, 1813–15* (1921).

Supplementary Dates.

XV

1815 Thorkelin discovers *Beowulf*.
Béranger makes his first collection of songs.
Schubert composes his first song, *Der Erlkönig*.

XVI

THE CONGRESS PERIOD

After the making of a peace, the difficulty is to keep it. When the settlement is on such a large scale as that of 1815 and involves so many interests, there are certain to be many dissatisfied people, so that causes of war and friction will remain. Moreover, the *malaise* of the Revolutionary period was still in the air; the ideas of the Rights of Man were at work in other places than France. But the Powers of Europe had not been fighting for twenty-two years merely to see new wars arise. So when they made the settlement of 1814–15 they resolved not to dissolve their alliances, but to remain united, and to meet from time to time to see that the settlement was carried into effect and was working properly.

This union or alliance of all the Powers of Europe after the great war lasted for seven years (1815–22) and was based upon two Acts: The Holy Alliance of the 26th September 1815 and the Quadruple Alliance Treaty of Paris, 20th November 1815.

The Holy Alliance was due to Alexander I of Russia, a noble and sentimental autocrat, still comparatively young, being only thirty-eight in 1815. It was originally signed by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The idea had been in their minds for years. The monarchs of Europe were to recognize each other as a brotherhood, existing for the good of their peoples, to lead them in the ways of peace and Christian charity. The text of the Alliance expressed this very beautifully:

> Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting Monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and considering each other as fellow-countrymen, they will, on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect Religion, Peace and Justice (Article I).

INTRODUCTION.

PERHAPS the sentiments contained in the following pages are not yet sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favour; a long habit of not thinking a thing wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of being right, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defence of custom. But the tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason.

As a long and violent abuse of power is generally the means of calling the right of it in question, (and in matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the sufferers been aggravated into the inquiry) and as the King of England hath undertaken in his own right, to support the Parliament in what he calls theirs, and as the good people of this country are grievously oppressed by the they have an undoubted privilege to inquire into the pretensions of both, and equally to reject the of either.

In the following sheets the author hath studiously avoided every thing which is personal among ourselves. Compliments as well as censure to individuals make no part thereof. The wise, and the worthy, need not the triumph of a pamphlet; and those whose sentiments are injudicious, or unfriendly, will cease of themselves, unless too much pains are bestowed upon their conversion.

The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. Many circumstances hath, and will arise, which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all lovers of mankind are affected, and in the event of which their affections are interested. The laying a country desolate with fire and sword, declaring war against the natural rights of all mankind, and extirpating the defenders hereof from the face of the earth, is the concern of every man to whom nature hath given the power of feeling; of which class, regardless of party censure, is the

AUTHOR.

P. S. The publication of this new edition hath been delayed, with a view of taking notice (had it been necessary) of any attempt to refute the doctrine of independence. As no answer hath yet appeared, it is now presumed none will, the time needful for getting such a performance ready for the public being considerably past.

Philadelphia, Feb. 14, 1776.

'THE RIGHTS OF MAN'

Facsimile of the Introduction to Paine's 'Common Sense', 1776

In consequence, the sole principle of force, whether between the said Governments or between their subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable goodwill, the natural affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation; the three allied Princes looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of One family, namely Austria, Prussia and Russia, thus confessing that the Christian World, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other Sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone we find all the treasures of love, science and infinite wisdom, that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life.

All the Powers of Europe joined the Holy Alliance except the Pope, the Sultan of Turkey, and the Government of England.

At Paris on the 20th November 1815, the Allies, in making the Main Treaty of Peace with France, signed a number of other Acts, one of which was a Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, providing that those powers would meet from time to time to watch over the treaties of 1815 and to consider the state of Europe. This Four Power Treaty, which seems to have been due to Castlereagh, created the European Concert, that is to say the understanding between the Great Powers that they were responsible for the peace of Europe, and that when crises arose and threatened the peace they should meet together and try to find a solution.

The statesmen had much to think about in the years after the great war. Europe was a place of hope and of fear. The hope of a better time for mankind was due to the species of Renaissance, the enlightenment which had begun in the latter part of the eighteenth century and of which the ideals of the French Revolution were an expression. But there was also fear that this intellectual ferment might again produce revolution, and that revolution would destroy social order and bring back the years of war. The statesmen who held this view may have been mistaken, but they were honest in their belief, and they had been through some hard experiences. So their watchful attitude over Europe was inclined to be a repressive attitude. Whether as the

THE "EUROPEAN CONCERT."

TUNING-UP FOR THE ENGLISH OVERTURE.

Punch's cartoon on the Greek frontier question, 1880

By permission of the Proprietors of 'Punch'

result of their efforts or not, the fact remains that Europe enjoyed comparative peace and stability until 1848.

It was not only in France that ideals were passionately held among the large class of educated people. Romanticism, a revolt from the strict conventions of literature, art, and politics of the eighteenth century, was the fashion all over Western Europe. In France most of the writers supported the restored Monarchy. Chateaubriand (1768–1848), author of the *Génie du Christianisme*, and one of the most eloquent of the Romanticists, was Foreign Minister under Louis XVIII. Benjamin Constant, author of the Romantic novel, *Adolphe* (1816), was a member of the Chamber of Deputies under the Restoration. The restored Bourbon Monarchy was very orthodox, and in this respect its opinions coincided with those of the great Romantic, Chateaubriand, whose ecclesiastical views were ultramontane. There was, indeed, a great Roman Catholic revival taking place in France, a revival which Napoleon himself had encouraged by re-establishing the Church in France through the Concordat of 1801. Of a more severe style than Chateaubriand, but more convincing in his reasoning, was Joseph de Maistre (1754-1821), author of *Du Pape* and the *Soirées de St.-Pétersbourg*. His defence of a loyal and strict, yet enlightened, Roman Catholicism began the work which Chateaubriand popularized and which Montalembert (1810–70), the author of *Les Moines d'Occident*, continued in the middle of the nineteenth century (see below, pp. 629–30). Church and State being at one in France under the Bourbons, and the Romantic writers being orthodox Catholics, there was no danger of those writers threatening the existing political system. Things were otherwise, however, in Germany and Italy.

The German Romantic movement may be said to have begun with the Robinsonades, the imitations of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) that in the first half of the eighteenth century were very popular. Between 1722 and 1755 more than forty *Robinsons* appeared in Germany and were very popular.[1] *The Swiss Family Robinson* (*Der Schweizerische Robinson*, 1812) by Johann Rudolf Wyss, Professor of Philosophy at Berne, still remains, and repre-

[1] *History of German Literature*, by Metcalfe (1858), p. 359.

EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA · 1815

sents this school. Contemporary with the writers of Robinsonades was Lessing (1729–81), who wrote an illuminating essay, the *Laocoon*, on sculpture and painting, and an excellent drama, free from the stiff, conventional rules of the time, called *Minna von Barnhelm*. This still popular drama deals with the period and events of the Seven Years War. A contemporary of Lessing, and like him filled with the Greek and Latin spirit, was Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68), a Saxon scholar who lived mostly in Rome. He wrote a fine *History of the Art of the Ancients* which greatly influenced Goethe. When on his way back to Germany, where he would have still more profoundly advanced the Enlightenment (the *Aufklärung*), he was murdered at Trieste. Goethe, at that time a student at Leipzig, was greatly moved by the news of the death ' of the teacher who had made his career possible but whom he had never seen '.[1]

Goethe, whose long career covered the last half of the eighteenth century and thirty-two years of the nineteenth, was one of the most universal geniuses that ever lived. In his lifetime he was a sort of emperor or high priest of letters, wielding a European supremacy like that which Voltaire had held before him, and such as nobody, except perhaps Victor Hugo, has had since. Goethe is to Germany what Shakespeare is to England and Dante to Italy. His work was, and is, the embodiment of the national spirit. Inseparately linked with the name of Goethe is that of his friend Schiller.

From the year 1794 they lived in constant communication with each other, Schiller at Jena and Goethe at Weimar. In 1799 Schiller moved to Weimar too. In the early years of their friendship Goethe wrote *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* and *Hermann und Dorothea*, while Schiller composed his great Wallenstein trilogy. Goethe's most celebrated work, although not his most influential, *Faust*, was not completed until 1831.

Another highly influential writer, though he is little read now even in Germany, was Jean Paul Richter (1763–1825). As Weimar was a centre of Romanticism for Central Germany, so was Baireuth in Bavaria for Southern Germany. Richter, after

[1] Pater, *The Renaissance*, essay on ' Winckelmann '.

Wilhelm Meisters

Lehrjahre.

Ein Roman.

Herausgegeben

von

Goethe.

Erster Band.

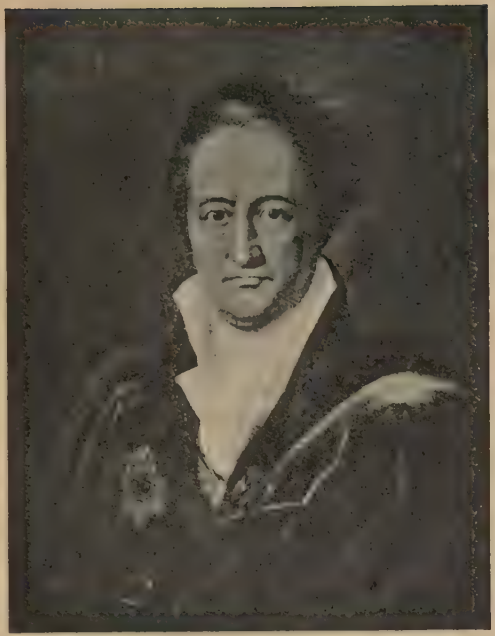
Berlin.
Bey Johann Friedrich Unger.
1795.

a long period of wandering, received a pension from the Bavarian Government, and fixed his residence at Baireuth, where Wagner (1813–83) was later to live and produce his operas. Richter's novel, *Quintus Fixlein*, is still worth reading, both as a story and as a document of the period of the great war.

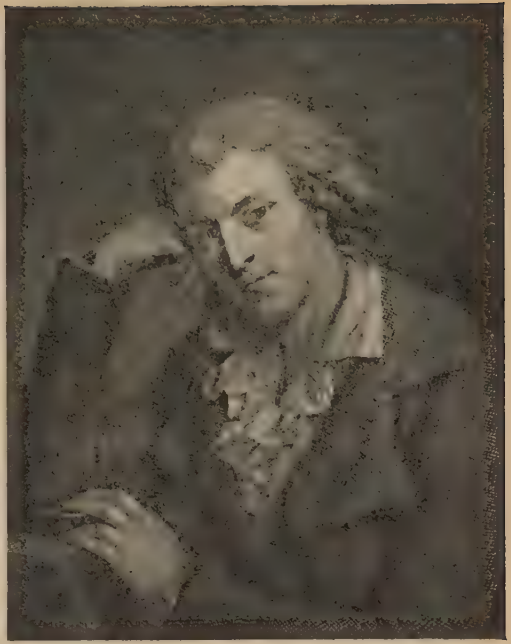
Other great men were stirring the German mind during the Napoleonic period. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), professor of Philosophy at Königsberg University, produced the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) and raised German metaphysics to a position of ascendancy, indeed of domination, over the intellectual life of Europe. Napoleon might conquer up to the Vistula or even to the Niemen, but Kant went on untroubled, deep in the realisms of abstract thought and ' dug his mine '.[1] Fichte's appeal was more direct and popular. His lectures at Berlin in the years 1806–13, lectures on philosophy, political economy, political science, were delivered really to all the educated classes of Germany ; they stimulated the moral as well as the intellectual revival of Germany in the dark days after Jena. They led directly to the War of Liberation, in which Fichte, too old to fight, served in hospital. Before the war was over he caught the fever to which so many soldiers succumbed, and died on the 27th January 1814. Four years after Fichte's death his chair at Berlin University was occupied, until 1831, by Georg Hegel, whose idealism dominated European philosophy for most of the century. His influence on German politics was important, for he idealized the might and authority of the State.

These philosophers were ' publicists ' as well as logicians. The war-period was favourable to the development of publicists, provided that they could avoid capture and death at the hands of a platoon of Napoleon's soldiers. The greatest of these exponents of policy was Gentz, the anti-Napoleonic propagandist *par excellence*. The British Government employed him to write, and for many years he was engaged as a high official in the Austrian Foreign Office composing manifestoes and pamphlets for Metternich. But when the wars were over Gentz, like Metternich, ceased to appeal to the German national spirit, for he feared

[1] Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, tome iv, pp. 20–1.



Goethe

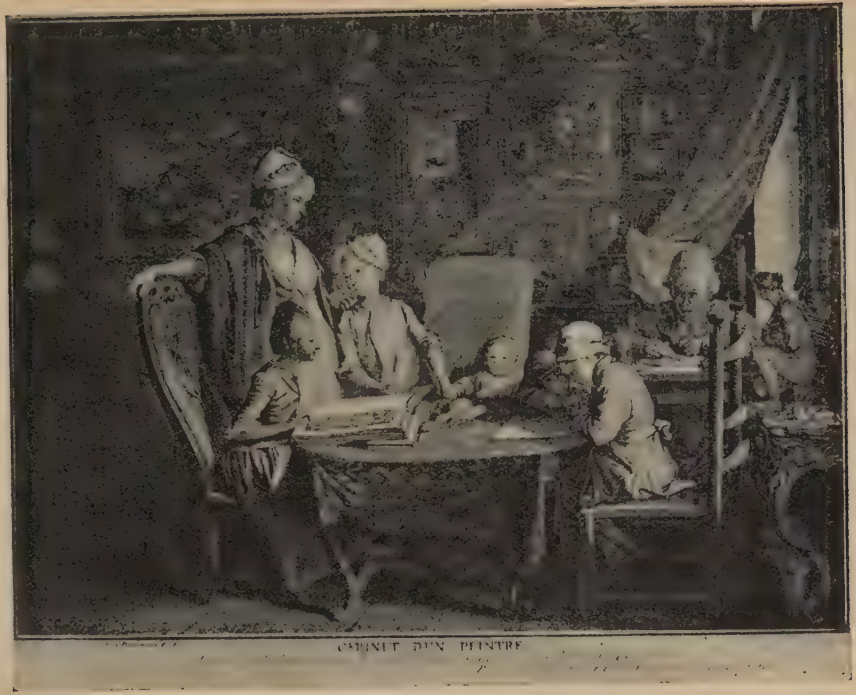


Schiller

that it might lead to new revolutions and the reign of war and licence. Not so with another publicist, Görres (1776–1848), who after the wars employed his pen in the service of the new politics, encouraging a sane nationalism, and advocating the grant of liberal constitutions by the German monarchs.

The sentiment of nationality is closely connected with aspirations for democracy. A people which is conscious of its individuality and proud of its history inevitably begins to claim to govern itself. This explains why the monarchs of the Holy Alliance, Frederick William III of Prussia, Francis II of Austria, and Alexander I of Russia, found so much to disturb their spirits in the movements of thought going on in Germany at this time. They were troubled by the continual outpouring of pamphlets and by the intense interest which the middle-classes were taking in politics. They were also troubled by the frequent meetings of societies of students and professors (which their police duly reported) to discuss politics; and by the persistent demand for the constitutions and parliaments, which recalled to mind the French Estates-General of 1789. So the monarchs held a conference at the little Bohemian watering-place, Carlsbad, in 1819, and declared all students' associations to be suppressed, and established a standing commission at Mayence to seek out and punish political offenders. The clock of political progress was stopped. It was arranged that no more constitutions would be granted. There were only two at this time in any German State, namely, in Bavaria and Baden.

The Carlsbad Decrees seem to have succeeded in their object. Political fermentation moderated itself. The more active-minded among the population found a vent for their energies either in the civil service of Prussia, the most enterprising of the German States; or in philosophy, which Hegel (1770–1831) had immensely popularized after the death of Kant; or in history, which under the inspiration of Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) began to devote itself more and more to the investigation of German national life and institutions. By the year 1830 Germany had recovered from the economic exhaustion caused by Napoleon's Continental System and wars. Her young men were



German home life at the end of the eighteenth century

From an engraving by D. Chodowiecki

beginning again to travel. Lieutenant von Moltke in 1835 went to Turkey, took service under Mahmoud II, and made journeys in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. In 1827 Ranke was in Italy, making researches for his historical works.

In October 1818, the year before the Carlsbad meeting, a conference, held according to the Quadruple Alliance of 1815 rather than the Holy Alliance, met at Aix-la-Chapelle to ' wind up ' the affairs of the Second Peace of Paris. This did not take long. France had been allowed five years in which to pay the war-indemnity of 700,000,000 francs. Within the first three years she had duly met all the claims, and now at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle she offered to pay off the whole remaining sum. The offer was accepted by the Allies, with the necessary consequence that the Allies' Army of Occupation was withdrawn from French territory. Some people feared that this withdrawal of a guarantee for French quiescence might result in France's making an assault upon the territorial conditions imposed on her in 1815. But no such thing happened. France, having been admitted to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, was recognized as a member of the European Concert ; thus she resumed normal conditions with all the other Powers.

The following year, 1819, was marked by the Carlsbad Conference in which only Austria, Prussia, and Russia with the minor German States took part. In the autumn of the next year (1820) a European Congress was again convoked, and met at Troppau, a considerable town, the capital of that portion of Silesia which still remained to Austria after the wars of Frederick the Great.

The Congress of Troppau had to consider a situation of the same kind (but in a more exaggerated form) as that with which the Carlsbad Conference had just dealt. In Italy and in Spain intellectual and political fermentation had burst forth in rebellion and revolution.

The Italians had never forgotten that they had once been united (and that only a few years before) within the Napoleonic Empire. Under the Napoleonic régime, schools and learned societies had been founded. Literature and art flourished. A remarkable number of poets had arisen ; their theme was

generally Ancient Rome, strong, united, filled only with the vestiges of *past* glory. Such a poet was Giacomo Leopardi, a rare genius, whose brief life ended in 1837 at the age of thirty-nine. Leopardi was a hunchback, frail and delicate, but with a great soul and steeped in the Greek and Latin classics. His ode *All' Italia* is full of the memories of ancient Italy, its mighty ruins, its heroes. Leopardi's poetry is pessimistic. More helpful and stirring was the work of Count Alessandro Manzoni, whose fine historical novel of the seventeenth century, *I Promessi Sposi* (1827), has gained him the name of the 'Sir Walter Scott of Italy'.

In Sicily, during the great war, a British General, Lord William Bentinck (1774–1839)—afterwards a famous Governor-General of India—had practically administered the country on Whig principles. In Spain, fighting for freedom against Napoleon, a liberal Constitution had been adopted by the Cortes in 1812; but Ferdinand VII, when firmly established on the Spanish throne at the end of the war, had simply suspended this Constitution. Now, in 1819 and 1820 there had arisen a tremendous agitation, both in Spain and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, for the 'Constitution of 1812'. The feeble kings, both called Ferdinand, both Bourbons, were terrorized into making concessions: but something like a revolution was required to bring this about. The Powers of Europe were alert to all signs of revolution: this sort of fire must not be allowed to spread. The Congress of Troppau met and issued its now celebrated circular on the 8th December 1820.

> The Powers have exercised an undeniable right in concerting together upon means of safety against those States in which the overthrow of a Government caused by revolution could only be considered as a dangerous example which could only result in a hostile attitude towards constitutional and legitimate Governments. The exercise of this right became still more urgent, when those who had placed themselves in that position sought to communicate to neighbouring States the misfortune into which they themselves had plunged, and to propagate revolution and confusion around them.

The British representative at the Congress did not sign this circular, as non-intervention in the domestic affairs was a part of the Government's policy. But the other Powers authorized

Austria to send an armed force into Sicily (and also into Piedmont, where similar disturbances were going on); this force soon quelled the revolution.

The Spanish Revolution offered a more difficult problem. Not much harm to international relations could come from Austria acting with the strong hand in Italy, because she was already (through the possession of Lombardy, and the control of the Austrian Grand Duke of Tuscany) mistress in that peninsula. But if either Russia or France were to send an army into the Iberian Peninsula to suppress the Spanish Revolution (and both Powers were ready to do so), the international affairs of Europe would be gravely imperilled. Great Britain would not look on with indifference if Spain became a dependency either of the Tsar or the King of France. In 1822 a congress met at Verona, the splendid old Roman city on the Adige. Alexander I, Metternich, Frederick William III of Prussia were present as plenipotentiaries, with the Duke of Wellington, not as a plenipotentiary, but only as an 'observer' for the British Government. France proposed to send an army into Spain, and, with the disapproval of Great Britain, did so. The Spanish Revolution was suppressed. Ferdinand VII was restored to Madrid. Then the French Government which was being continually pressed by the British Foreign Secretary, George Canning, withdrew its forces. Spain had peace for the next ten years; but it had to pay very dearly in the future for losing its reasonably liberal Constitution in 1823.

When the Congress of Verona was sitting another rebellion was in progress, a rebellion to which the principles of the Congress could not be applied. The Greeks, like the Germans, had been having a renaissance of classical studies, stimulated by the studies of the patriot-scholar, Koraes. In 1821 they rose in rebellion against their Turkish sovereign. The Congress Powers as a rule objected to all assaults upon established government; but with regard to the Greek Revolt the Russian Government was distinctly favourable, for religious reasons and owing to hostility towards Turkey. The British Government too, although neutral and non-interventionist, could not help sympathizing when the Hellenes, whom every British statesman's education

had taught him to admire, rose to throw off the Turkish yoke. Byron, who was living a passionate, unhappy life at the time of the Vienna Congress in Pisa and Genoa, found in the Greek Revolt a cause to throw his heart and soul into. He gave instructions to his banker in England to send all money that could possibly be obtained; he hired and equipped a ship, and sent pay for Greek soldiers. On the 24th July 1823 he wrote from Leghorn to Goethe: 'I am returning to Greece to see if I can be of any little use there.' In Greece he wrote:

> The dead have been awakened—shall I sleep?
> The World 's at war with tyrants—shall I crouch?
> The harvest 's ripe—and shall I pause to reap?
> I slumber not; the thorn is in my couch.
> Each day a trumpet soundeth in mine ear,
> Its echo in my heart.

Byron died of fever at Missolonghi on the 19th April 1824. He was only thirty-six years old.

The Greek War was a very long drawn-out affair, and it was the occasion of lamentable massacres and ill treatment of the inhabitants on both sides. Even the British Government found that it could not keep clear of the struggle. An attempt at armed mediation, in which the British, French, and Russian squadrons took part, only produced a naval battle and the destruction of the Turco-Egyptian Fleet at Navarino (October 1827). It required three campaigns by the Russian Army under Marshal Diebitsch in Bulgaria to induce Turkey to acknowledge the independence of the Greeks (Treaty of Adrianople, 1829). Meanwhile, since 1827, a Conference of Ambassadors of England, France, and Russia was in regular session in London; and on the 7th May 1832 it concluded a treaty with Turkey, reaffirming the independence of Greece, extending its frontier, and seating Prince Otto of Bavaria upon the throne as King of the Hellenes. Austria and Prussia took no part in the work of the Conference of Ambassadors.

One new kingdom followed another. After Greece came Belgium. The union of Holland and Belgium by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 had not been a success. The Belgians and Dutch differed in race and religion; and although William I,

an enlightened monarch, did a good deal for Belgium (for instance, he created the University of Ghent in 1816), yet there were many occasions of friction.

In July 1830 a bloodless revolution occurred in France. Charles X, who had succeeded his brother Louis XVIII in 1824, was put off the throne. The other Powers of Europe were much perturbed at first, but were soon reassured by seeing that the revolution was purely political. It resulted in no attacks on the structure of society, but was followed by the conservative *bourgeois* monarchy of Louis-Philippe.

There was, however, one very disconcerting, indirect result of the Paris Revolution of July. It reverberated in Belgium, and struck the chord of revolt there. The Belgians, like the Italians and Germans, had been creating, or recreating, a national literature. A journal called *L'Éclaireur du Limbourg* was begun in 1827 to express the sentiment of nationality. A young Belgian poet, Theodore Weustenraad, gained great fame locally for his patriotic verses, although few are remembered now.[1] Belgium was fortunate too to find a fine diplomatist among some of its young intellectuals, Silvain van de Weyer. Yet it required over eight years of effort on the part of the Concert Powers before Holland could be induced to acquiesce in the independence of Belgium. At last, on the 19th April 1839, the now celebrated Treaty of London was concluded between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, France, and Holland, for defining the boundaries of the new State, recognizing the kingship of the chosen monarch Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality.

After the settlement of the Belgian question, which occurred during Palmerston's almost uninterrupted tenure of the Foreign Office from 1831 to 1842, there was a crisis in the Levant. This crisis failed, just by a hairbreadth, to precipitate a European war. It concerned the career of Mehemet Ali and the decline of the Turkish Empire.

Mehemet Ali is, like Lord Cromer [2] (whose methods were very

[1] See *Theodore Weustenraad*, by F. Severin (Brussels, 1914).

[2] Cromer died in 1917. He was British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt from 1883 to 1907.

different) one of the makers of Modern Egypt. Neither statesman was a native of Egypt. Mehemet was an Albanian in the tobacco business at Kavalla towards the end of the eighteenth century. Joining the Turkish Army in the time of the French Revolutionary wars, he rose to be a colonel, and, later, to be Governor of Egypt. When hard-pressed in the Greek War of Independence, the Sultan Mahmoud II had called Mehemet Ali to his aid. Mehemet had sent his eldest son, Ibrahim, with the Egyptian Army and Navy. Ibrahim was a fine general. The Greeks were faring very badly at his hands until the Anglo-Russo-French fleet sank the Egyptian ships at Navarino (1827), and the French General Maison expelled the Egyptian Army from the Peloponnese.

When the Greek War was over, Mehemet Ali and the Sultan quarrelled. The Egyptian Army under Ibrahim advanced from Syria and defeated the Turkish Army at Konia in Asia Minor on the 21st December 1832. Ibrahim would have gone farther and taken Constantinople, if the Tsar Nicholas I of Russia had not sent a fleet and an army to the Bosporus. The result of the Tsar's intervention was the signing of a Russo-Turkish agreement, known as the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, 8th July 1833, guaranteeing that whenever Russia was at war the Turks would close the Straits of the Dardanelles to any other Power. On her side, Russia undertook to assist the Turks in any of their wars. In effect, Turkey became a protectorate of Russia, and the Dardanelles became a Russian fortress.

By this time Ibrahim and his army had gone back to Syria, which the Sultan had ceded to Egypt. Egypt, although nominally a 'pashalik' of Turkey, was really independent. In 1839 trouble arose again between the Pasha and the Sultan, and again the Egyptian and Turkish Armies met, this time on the north-western border of Mesopotamia, at Nisib (21 June 1839). Moltke was present at this battle on the Turkish side. Ibrahim gained a great victory, and would have advanced towards Constantinople, but once more intervention took place, this time by all five Powers together—Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France. The Russian Government which, under the Treaty of

Unkiar-Skelessi, could have exercised the exclusive right of protecting Turkey, prudently waived its claim, and thus avoided war with England (1840).

England and Russia were thus in agreement; and Austria and Prussia, still inflamed by the traditions of the Holy Alliance of 1815–22, were ready to agree with Russia also. But France under Louis-Philippe had a policy of her own. She wished to prevent Mehemet Ali from taking Constantinople, but she also wished to protect Mehemet from loss of territory. Great Britain and Russia, on the other hand, thought that the declining power of Turkey should be restored, and that, consequently, Syria should be detached from Egypt and given back to the Turks. Over this difference, feeling ran extremely high, and the French Government seemed on the point of making war upon England and Prussia (although Russia, not Prussia, had been foremost in the dispute). Against this threat Prussian and indeed German national feeling arose clear and brilliant. A Bavarian, Max Schneckenburger, wrote the song, *Die Wacht am Rhein.* The recruiting offices became full. King Louis-Philippe, however, knew that a European war was a bad thing, and he risked his position in France rather than provoke it. Palmerston, too, behaved with unusual sympathy, and the British and French Foreign Offices managed to make a suitable agreement, which the other three Powers also signed. This was the 'Convention of the Straits', or Treaty of London, 13th July 1841. It enacted what was known as the 'ancient rule' that during times of peace no warships, other than Turkish, should use the Dardanelles or Bosporus. This rule, 'the closure of the Straits', was a principle of International Law until 1922.

Supplementary Dates.

XVI

1812	Rudolf Wyss's *Swiss Family Robinson.*	1821	Death of Joseph de Maistre.
1815	The Holy Alliance.	1825	Death of Jean Paul Richter.
	The Quadruple Alliance.	1827	Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi.*
1816	Benjamin Constant's *Adolphe.*	1837	Death of Leopardi.
1820	Weber's *Freischütz.*	1860	Montalembert's *Les Moines d'Occident.*

XVII

THE UNITED STATES

In the Napoleonic Wars a new Power began an influence which has since been continuous in the affairs of Europe. This was the United States of America.

The United States came into existence in the rebellion of the Thirteen Colonies against England in 1775. Its independence was recognized by Treaty with France in 1778 and by Treaty with Great Britain in 1783 (Peace of Versailles). After the War of Independence was over the Union was a very feeble thing. Each of the Thirteen States retained full sovereignty within its own borders. Congress, the representative body of the Union, was only a voluntary body of delegates from the Thirteen States.

In 1787, on the proposal of the 'Annapolis Convention', Congress summoned a special convention of delegates at Philadelphia to consider how the commercial relations of the States should be adjusted. This convention was presided over by George Washington. Besides him its chief members were Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Edmund Randolph, and Gouverneur Morris.

After about four months of discussion and thorough consideration the convention, going far beyond the idea of forming a commercial system, produced a draft for a complete constitution (17 September 1787). This draft was passed through Congress and was then accepted by nine States. It was subsequently accepted by the remaining four States.

The Constitution of the United States was modelled upon the charters of government of the pre-revolutionary British colonies. Its outstanding characteristic is that it is *written* and *rigid*; it is a precise document and can only be changed or amended by a special and lengthy process. In the first fifty years of its existence the Constitution was amended only twelve times. From 1805 to 1864 (inclusive) it was not amended at all. The total number of amendments made down to the present date are nineteen.

The Constitution of the United States has the merit of being a short document, of seven Articles, comprising twenty-four sections. They are easily understood, easily grasped as a whole. Article I, Section I, grants all legislative power to a Congress consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives. Sections II to IX regulate the duties of these two Chambers ; the Senate represents the individual States, the House of Representatives represents the whole people. Section X forbids any State to make treaties or to coin money, to pass a law impairing any contract, to grant titles of nobility or to impose customs duties.

Article II, Sections I to IV, regulates the election (every four years) and the duties of President. Article III, Sections I to III, establishes the Supreme Court to decide ' all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under its authority '.

Article IV defines the rights of the individual States. Every State is guaranteed a republican form of government. The remaining Articles deal with amendments, debts, and the ratification of the Constitution.[1]

Thus a raw political community of two million people was able in 1787 to produce a Constitution which has proved to be the most stable of modern polities. The Union was fortunate in its first President. George Washington, having led the Colonies through the dark days of the war, had retired to his estates in Virginia when he was sent to Philadelphia as a delegate in the Constituent Convention of 1787. When the Constitution was made he would again gladly have retired, but the choice of the whole people was clear. He was elected first President. An aristocrat in the best sense of the word, he was the unique man for leading a new democratic community. He was indeed sometimes criticized for being too aristocratic. He drove to Congress in a cream-coloured coach drawn by six white horses. At public receptions he would stand with his hands behind his

[1] For a text of the Constitution see *Sources and Documents illustrating the American Revolution, 1784–8, and the formation of the Federal Constitution,* by S. E. Morison (1923), pp. 292 ff.

Boston in the eighteenth century

back, and merely bow to visitors. Yet nobody ever denied that he was a great and judiciously minded man. He served two terms as President, 1789–93 and 1793–7, and died in 1799 at Mount Vernon, at the age of sixty-seven. His home, Mount Vernon, on the Potomac in Virginia, is preserved as a national memorial, the house furnished, the gardens tended, just as he left them.

The second President of the United States, from 1797 to 1801, was John Adams, a New Englander, whose family has produced statesmen, all of the same dignified, sane, public-spirited type, throughout the nineteenth century. Under the guidance of President Adams the United States, amid many difficulties caused by the younger and more 'heady' politicians, remained neutral in the French Revolutionary Wars. His successor from 1801 to 1809 was Thomas Jefferson, one of the great Virginians. Jefferson had a stroke of luck in finding out that Napoleon was willing to sell Louisiana. The negotiations were very difficult, and were carried out for the Americans by Livingston and Monroe, for France by Talleyrand. The treaty of sale was concluded in Paris on the 30th April 1803, and Louisiana passed into American hands for between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000 (sixty million francs). This was the end of Napoleon's scheme for a colonial empire. British sea-power had ruined the project.

The interest of the United States in the French War was prompted by more than sentimental attachment to the country which had helped the Americans in their own War of Independence. Although not a great naval Power (for a country of six million people never could be), the United States had a comparatively large sea-faring population along the New England coast, and its merchantmen sailed far and wide. The war between England and France greatly interfered with this maritime commerce. The restrictions of the French Directory on neutrals' trade were just as galling as the English. In 1798 Congress was on the point of declaring war, and a few engagements actually took place between American and French warships. President Adams, however, managed to preserve neutrality, and after Bonaparte gained complete control of

French policy relations with the United States for a few years improved.

In the later stages of the Napoleonic Wars Franco-American relations again became very strained. The decrees of Berlin (1806) and Milan (1807), Napoleon's Continental System, pressed very hardly upon American shipping; so, however, did the British Orders in Council with regard to neutrals' trading with the Continent of Europe. Napoleon had a sensible Minister at Washing-

ton, General Sérurier. Sérurier's very interesting dispatches are preserved in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Office at Paris. They plainly show how near France was to war with the United States in 1811 and 1812. As a matter of fact both the French and British Governments withdrew the obnoxious commercial decrees so far as they affected American trade. But the notification of the British withdrawal arrived, unfortunately, just after Congress had in June 1912, at last, declared war.

The Anglo-American War of 1812–15 is an episode of which neither nation is proud. The only people who came really well out of it were the Canadians who, practically single-handed, withstood the American invasion of Canada and drove the invaders out

of the country. The decisive fights in this part of the war were at Queenstown Heights on the Niagara River (October 1812), Chateauguay and Chrysler's Farm in the St. Lawrence valley (October, November 1813), and Lundy's Lane near the Niagara Falls (July 1814). At sea the American ships did well, although they were unable to stop British commerce or to prevent the British Navy from applying a strict blockade to America. On land, outside Canada, the British could do nothing until the Peninsular War was over, when a force of Wellington's veterans were shipped to the Chesapeake, marched to Washington, and burned the Capitol (25 August 1814). Next the expeditionary force failed in a surprise attack on Baltimore, and the Commander, Major-General Ross, was killed. After this the force proceeded by sea to New Orleans under Major-General Pakenham, it made an assault on the old French city, but was foiled by the able Western soldier, Andrew Jackson. The fights around New Orleans lasted for a fortnight. The last battle, which cost the life of the British General Pakenham and 2,000 of his men, was fought on the 8th January 1815, just after the Anglo-American Commissioners had signed the Peace of Ghent (24 December 1814), but before the news arrived in America. The futility of the war is proved by the fact that the Treaty of Peace merely restored the *status quo ante bellum*, and that although the causes of grievance remained they have been adjusted from time to time since then without fighting.

From 1817 to 1825 the President was James Monroe who had been one of the commission negotiating the Louisiana purchase at Paris in 1803 and 1804. He was conversant with the conditions of Europe, and with him the United States began very forcibly to influence events there.

Monroe's first success was in arranging for the purchase of Florida from the Spaniards (1819), thus giving to the United States control of the territory to the east of the Mississippi, just as the purchase of Louisiana had given it control of the west side. But there were vast areas west of Louisiana and Ohio, stretching away to the Pacific, which were still outside American control.

Moreover, the colonies of Spain in Central and South America

were in revolt, and if Spain could not conquer those some other great power might. There was a possibility that either Britain or France might take some of the unoccupied territory on the Pacific coast of North America, or that France, having restored Ferdinand VII to Spain in 1823, might help him to regain Spanish America. Alexander I of Russia seems also to have had some idea of sending a fleet to act as an arm of the Holy Alliance to restore peace in South America.

The British Government was very anxious to prevent any extension of the Holy Alliance to America; and Canning, in a conference with the French Ambassador in London, the Duc de Polignac, in October 1823, induced France to desist from interference. Canning would have liked to act in concert with the Government of the United States, but President Monroe chose the bold and successful course of stating American policy, not as a temporary measure of alliance with any other Power, but as permanent enunciation of the United States' determination. The message which Monroe sent to Congress on the 2nd December 1823 intimated that any extension of the dominion of a European State in America would be resisted by war on the part of the United States. Thus the Great West was saved for the United States and Central and South America for the Latin Americans; and the European States System, with its perpetual crises and alarms, was kept away from the whole American continent except where European colonies already existed.

The Monroe message said:

In the Wars of the European Powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. . . . With the movements in this Hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. . . . We owe it therefore to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt, on their part, to extend their system to any portion of this Hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing Colonies or Dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and we shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose Independence we have, on great consideration,

and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any manner, their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.

The United States had recognized the independence of the rebel Spanish Colonies in 1822, and the British Government did the same in 1825. The last battle fought by old Spain against the independence of Latin America was at Ayacucho in November 1824.

Practically the closing public work of President Monroe (the last of the great Virginians of early American history) was to sign the bill of Congress putting a moderate tariff on to goods imported into America in 1824. Until this time the United States had permitted practically Free Trade. Free Trade at least suited the Southern States which had no manufactures of their own and consequently imported large quantities of goods. The controversy concerning tariffs, along with other things, strengthened the difference of feeling between North and South, between the 'Industrial' and the 'Planter' States. In the 'thirties and 'forties the question of slavery also became prominent, the North being, on the whole, in favour of abolition, the South in favour of maintaining negro slavery. Throughout these first fifty years of the nineteenth century something like a party-system was growing up, owing to these differences of opinion; the Southern men organized themselves for voting-purposes as the party of Democrats; many of the Northerners tended to a loose organization of so-called Whigs. Later the many Whigs became known as the Republican Party. The Civil War made the South almost wholly democrat. When, after the Civil War, this question was settled there remained the old differences concerning tariffs and state rights. The Democrats were in favour, if not of Free Trade, at any rate of moderate tariffs; the Republicans were strong Protectionists. The Democrats tended to emphasize the sovereignty which each State actually possesses under the Constitution; the Republicans were more ready to increase in certain respects the powers of the Central Government.

When J. K. Polk, a Democrat from Tennessee, became President in 1845, the great westward movement of the United States had become a strong and steady, though still not very full, current. In 1835 a large province of Mexico called Texas had broken away from that state. Sparsely inhabited, undeveloped, and mismanaged, Texas soon became bankrupt and was unable to defend itself. At length President Polk induced Congress to accept the frequently made application of Texas for admission to the United States in 1845. This act produced a war with Mexico, in the course of which the United States drove the Mexicans not merely out of Texas but out of California (1846). Next year General Scott landed at Vera Cruz with 12,000 men, and after defeating the Mexican dictator, Santa Anna, peace was made by the Treaty of Guadaloupe-Hidalgo, 21st February 1848.

The United States annexed California and New Mexico. The Mexican Government assented to the annexation of Texas: the Rio Grande became the boundary with Mexico. President Polk thus in fact, if not in theory, carried the application of the 'Monroe Doctrine' one step farther than its creator had done. Not merely was the interference of European States to be prevented; but, to make the Doctrine impregnable, the whole North American Continent from the Isthmus to the Canadian border was to have the stars and stripes for its flag. The 'gold rush' of 1849 soon made California and the whole Pacific coast begin to fill up with a very hardy type of North American settler.

Supplementary Dates.

XVII

1791 Death of Franklin.
1798 Brockden Brown's *Wieland.*
1809 Washington Irving's *Knickerbocker History of New York.*
1815 Publication of Bryant's *Thanatopsis.*
1820 Washington Irving's *Sketch Book.*
1821 Fennimore Cooper's novel, *The Spy.*
1834 Bancroft's *History of U.S.A.*
1836 Emerson's lecture on *Nature.*
1837 Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella.*
1840 Longfellow's *Hyperion.*
1841 Longfellow's *Ballads.*

XVIII

LATIN AMERICA

Latin America is the central and southern area of the continent which was colonized by the Spaniards and Portuguese, that is, by members of the Romance or Latin races. It consists now of independent states.

Compared with the orderly development of the United States, the South American States have had a very troubled history since they gained their independence from Spain. But as long as they were under Spanish rule their condition was quiet, if not particularly prosperous. Brazil was the only Portuguese colony; its development was different from that of the Spanish areas.

The discoveries of Columbus in the year 1492 only extended to the islands of the Antilles. These were the first colonies of Spain. The natives died out in the face of western civilization and western diseases, and in the seventeenth century all manual work was done by imported African slaves.

The New World which Columbus had made known was explored by his successors, among whom Amerigo Vespucci was fortunate in giving his name to the whole continent (1502). Cabral, the Portuguese, had already (1500) discovered Brazil and begun the Portuguese Empire there. Disputes between Spain and Portugal had been avoided by the arbitration of Pope Alexander VI in 1493. He had assigned to Spain all unoccupied lands to the west of a line running north and south one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde islands. Portugal was to have the territories to the east of the line. By mutual consent of Spain and Portugal the line was shifted to three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands.

The era of the great *Conquistadores* opened with Diego Velasquez and Fernando Cortes. Velasquez was the great governor of Cuba and the other islands colonized from Spain. Cortes was a Spanish noble who had gone to the West Indies at the age

PANAMA
Caracas
VENEZUELA
Bogota
COLOMBIA
Br. Gu.
Du. Fr. GUIANA
Quito
ECUADOR
Amazon
PERU
BOLIVIA
BRAZIL
Lima
Iacna
Arica
Paraguay
Parana
PARAGUAY
S. Salvador
Rio de Janeiro
CHILI
ARGENTINE
U.
Montevideo
Santiago
Buenos Ayres
Falkland Islands
English Miles
0 200 400 600
SOUTH AMERICA
U. = URUGUAY

of nineteen, and had spent fourteen years there. In 1518, when Velasquez chose him to lead an expedition to Mexico, Cortes was alcalde or magistrate of Santiago de Cuba. Within a little over one year, after extraordinary perils and adventures, Mexico was conquered by Cortes and his five hundred and fifty Spaniards.

In the next two years the conquest had to be made good by further fighting on a gigantic scale, but the power of Cortes remained unshaken. He remained in Mexico until 1540, retired to Spain and died, a poor man, at Seville, in 1547.

After the conquest of Mexico came that of Peru. In 1533 Francisco Pizarro overthrew the Inca, the chief ruler of the tribes of Peru, a much milder people than the Aztecs. From Peru, Chile was colonized. In 1535 the Banda Orientale, now known as Uruguay and the Argentine, began to be settled with Spanish colonists.

The whole of Spanish America was under the Viceroy of Peru, who was always one of Spain's great nobles. The intentions of the Spanish rule were good; the laws guaranteed humane treatment for the natives. Nevertheless much misery was caused by the system of forced labour (the only method by which the natives could be induced to work). The laws might be good, but the agents of the law, the local officials as well as the ordinary Spanish settler, were often men of low character. The happiest part of South America was probably that part of Paraguay which in 1608 was given over to the Jesuits. There a paternal system of government gave the natives the peace and physical well-being which was all that they wanted.

Two things may be put to the credit of the Spaniards. One is that they made the whole of South America (except Brazil for which the Portuguese did the same thing) into a Christian country. The second is that they have gradually, through intermarriage, absorbed large masses of the population, and through education are making the rest into a Spanish type. The Latin-Americans are, except for a few families, a mixed race, of which the type is distinctly Spanish, and in which the native element has been, or is being, raised to the level of the European.

Free trade was not allowed between Spain and her colonies.

Remains of an early civilization at Mitla, Mexico

Photograph by Mr. L. H. Dudley-Buxton

but all imports and exports had to be made through Seville, by way of its ports, San Lucar de Barrameda or Cadiz. The great Seville company which controlled the commercial operations was called the *Mesta*. Twice a year, in March and September, the merchant ships and their escorts assembled at San Lucar or Cadiz and sailed to Vera Cruz, if they were for Mexico, or to Portobello, if they were for continental South America. From Portobello goods were transhipped over the isthmus and taken to Lima; any portion required for the eastern coast had to be carried back over the Andes from Peru or Chile. This very cumbrous system prevailed until 1778 when Buenos Ayres was made a legal port. The fleet which had delivered its goods at Vera Cruz or Portobello thus collected the gold and silver ore which was awaiting it, and sailed back to Spain. In time of war the British or Dutch Navies always tried (often with success) waylaying this 'plate-fleet'; in time of peace any stragglers from it were nearly sure to be cut off by buccaneers. Spain's extraordinarily restrictive commercial system gave endless opportunities for smugglers and buccaneers, some of whom, like Henry Morgan in the years 1670–80, made considerable fortunes. The amazing exploits of these men are related in an eighteenth-century work, Captain Charles Johnson's *General History of Notorious Pyrates*, from which Robert Louis Stevenson got his account of Captain Teach in *The Master of Ballantrae*.

The movement for independence in the Spanish Colonies came about by reaction from events in North America and in Europe. When the New England Colonies revolted against Great Britain, the French Government encouraged and supported them; in course of time Spain joined in the struggle too (1779). Although the Spanish Government mainly devoted its efforts to the siege of Gibraltar, and did not, like the French, send troops to North America, it could not prevent the pernicious example of revolt and republicanism (which it was encouraging) from influencing its own colonies. Towards the end of the eighteenth century this example was reinforced by the spectacle of the French Revolution. When the nineteenth century opened Spain was drawn into war with England, on the French side. At

'The amazing exploits of these men'

Blackbeard the Pirate. From an illustration in Johnson's 'History of the Pyrates'

the battle of Trafalgar, 21st October 1805, the Spanish fleet was destroyed, and thus a link with the colonies was broken.

Nevertheless it appears that there was no particular desire in the colonies to break away from Spain. When, in 1806, a small British force under General Beresford occupied Buenos Ayres it was attacked by the inhabitants and forced to surrender. Next year General Whitelocke occupied Montevideo; but when he crossed the River Plate and attempted to capture Buenos Ayres the British again received a defeat; and Montevideo had to be evacuated also. The colonies absolutely refused to accept freedom at the hands of the British Government.

What really brought about the breach between the Spanish Colonies and the Mother Country was the action of Napoleon in 1808, when he dethroned Charles IV and made his own brother, Joseph, King of Spain. The colonists, like the mass of the people in Spain, refused to accept Joseph. There were still representatives of the old Spanish régime in South America, the governors and officials appointed by Charles IV. But their power was naturally weakened by the events in Spain, so that the mass of the colonists had less respect for them, while opportunity was given to the native minority who wished for independence.

In 1809 and 1810 rebellions broke out in the Spanish colonies on both sides of the Cordilleras. These movements were not of any strength until Simon Bolivar established his personal ascendancy in Venezuela, and San Martin in Peru. Both these men were born Americanos, but San Martin had been for years in Spain and had distinguished himself in the Peninsular War, while Bolivar had studied law at Madrid and had visited Paris in the time of the French Revolution. In 1810 he paid a visit to London, in order to obtain assistance for the cause of independence from the British Government. Great Britain, however, remained neutral. When the Napoleonic Wars were over and Ferdinand VII was restored to Spain the royal government was able to send reinforcements to its representatives in South America.

Although the British Government gave no help, many volunteers came and formed a British Legion in Bolivar's army. It was with their help that his American army gained the terrible

fight known as the Bridge of Boyaca in 1819, and so won Colombia for the revolution. Bolivar had already made himself supreme in Venezuela.

Meanwhile San Martin had returned from Spain to his native place in Buenos Ayres. A disinterested, moderate, aristocratic man, he in many ways resembled George Washington. The restored Government of Ferdinand VII in Spain was absolutist, while San Martin was a firm believer in constitutional governments. To attain this, he led the revolutionary Argentines and established the independence of that colony by his victory against the royalists at Chacabuco (1817). From the Argentine he went to Chile and helped to free that province. But when offered the presidency of Chile, San Martin declined, and secured the election of Bernardo O'Higgins, the chief Chilian-born leader.

San Martin next went up to Peru where he co-operated with Admiral Cochrane, the retired British naval officer who had already helped to free Chile. From Peru he got into touch with Bolivar and put forward his scheme for the union of South America into a Constitutional Monarchy, to be ruled by a younger prince of the Royal Spanish House. The scheme, however, was not accepted. In 1822 San Martin resigned his offices and retired for the rest of his life to Europe. He died at Boulogne in 1850.

There were still remnants of the Royal Spanish garrisons in South America, and it required one more battle before the Spanish flag was hauled down throughout the whole continent. The last battle was fought by General Sucré, one of Bolivar's lieutenants, at Ayacucho, in Peru, in 1824. Fourteen Spanish generals are said to have surrendered. Sucré used his victory with moderation, so that the war ended without any of the deeds of treachery and murder which had marred its course.

The condition of affairs was everywhere in some disorder, except in Brazil where a branch of the Royal House of Braganza had been established since the occupation of Portugal by the French in 1807. The new South American republics, torn by evil dissensions as they were, naturally attracted the attention of the Holy Alliance in Europe, and might have had to meet a

punitive expedition from that quarter in 1823 or 1824; but the diplomacy of George Canning and the famous message of President Monroe (see p. 615) prevented such action. Although Spain did not formally recognize the independence of her former American colonies until 1840, the United States, Great Britain, and France had long since done so, and South American commerce was becoming an important element in Europe's economic life.

Supplementary Dates.

XVIII

1533 Francisco overthrows the Inca of Peru.
Beginning of colonization of the Banda Orientale.
1547 Death of Cortes.
1608 Paraguay given over to the Jesuits.
1808 Napoleon dethrones Charles IV of Spain and creates his brother Joseph King of Spain.
1820 Brazilian Revolution. Liberal Constitution.
1840 Spain recognizes the Independence of the American Colonies.

XIX

EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE PERIOD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

§ 1. *The Intellectual Outlook*

The period from 1830 to 1860 in Europe, although it cannot be called peaceful, was nevertheless a fine time in many respects. There were giants in those days : great novelists like Dickens and Thackeray in England, Victor Hugo, Balzac, and Dumas in France ; musicians like Verdi or Mendelssohn ; artists like Turner and Corot ; thinkers like J. S. Mill and Comte. It was a chivalrous age, the age of Mazzini, of Garibaldi, of Napoleon III (an idealist, who came to grief) ; and it was a religious age, when the Church of Rome in France rose to a new fervour under the inspiration of Montalembert, while the Church of England found revived ideals in the Oxford Movement. There were wars in Belgium, in Spain and Portugal, in Italy, in Austria, in Turkey, and in India. But all the wars were ' localized ' ; they had little effect outside the area in which they were fought. Even the revolutions of 1848 made no difference to the course of European life. People were full of hope ; to be liberally minded was the mark of an educated man, no matter to what party he belonged. Nationality was the prevailing sentiment, and it was still in the stage of a purely unselfish enthusiasm, and was directed by common sense. All patriots believed in preserving the social order. The passions that make for anarchy and universal war scarcely ever made their appearance in public life.

Balzac and Hugo were probably the most abounding geniuses of the nineteenth century, and they each have left great literary pictures of their age.

Honoré de Balzac was a native of Tours, which he calls the least intellectual of French provincial cities, and he spent most of the first twenty years of his life there. In 1819 he left Tours

for Paris, to seek his livelihood as an author. For ten years he had no success play-writing, until he found his line as a novelist. Then followed thirty years of amazingly fertile work. Absolutely devoted to authorship, without money, indeed burdened with debt, Balzac never turned aside from his art, writing carefully, seriously, laboriously, constructing a picture of contemporary life and manner, on the grand scale. His novels, taken together, form what he called the *Comédie humaine*; they describe life in the provinces, in Paris, the life of the lawyer, the doctor, the soldier, the man of business, the priest, the farmer. In twenty years Balzac wrote eighty-five novels, and each was written carefully, fastidiously, with minute attention to style. The characters are all alive: the *Comédie humaine* is a world of breathing human beings, with their souls laid bare; the reader moves in the world of Restoration France, thrills with the political movements of the time, feels all the emotions and excitements of French society, hears the people speaking. The great books, *Eugénie Grandet*, *Père Goriot*, *Les Parents pauvres* are well known; a little work, *Le Curé de Tours*, gives French provincial life to perfection; another, *La Peau de Chagrin*, displays, in a magnificent panorama, the many-sided society of Restoration Paris. Balzac was only fifty-one when he died in 1850.

The other most abounding genius of the century had a longer life. Victor Hugo was born in 1802, the son of one of Napoleon's generals. He was educated at Madrid during the French occupation (1812), and later at the great École polytechnique of Paris, which at that time trained many youths destined for eminence, including Dufour, the famous Swiss soldier and engineer. When fourteen years old Hugo wrote a tragedy. At the age of twenty-one he published *Han d'Islande*, and at once sprang into fame. *Bug-Jargal* followed next year (1824); then came plays - *Cromwell*, *Hernani*, *Marion Delorme*, *Lucrèce Borgia*, *Le Roi s'amuse*—and poetry, under the titles of *Chants du Crépuscule* and *Les Feuilles d'automne*. In 1852 he withdrew to Jersey, being out of sympathy with the *coup d'état* by which Louis Napoleon made himself emperor. From Jersey he issued *Les*

Châtiments, poems of terrible satire against the third Napoleon (1853). In 1856 he wrote his simplest poems, *Les Contemplations*, and the gorgeously imaginative *Légende des Siècles* (1859). He had also continued, intermittently, producing novels: and in 1862 the great romance, *Les Misérables*, appeared, published simultaneously in ten languages.

Les Misérables is the 'panoramic romance' of life in the first half of the nineteenth century. In itself it is almost the Human Comedy (with much of tragedy) that Balzac aimed at. The grand figures are the bishop and the discharged convict, with multitudes of lesser but pretentious and vibrant characters that fill the episodes and animate the pages. It is long, full of digressions, historical descriptions, observations; it is a book to read gradually, not to take too seriously in every page (for Hugo had little sense of proportion or humour); but decidedly it is one of the grand books of the world and an epitome of humanity.

After the fall of the Second French Empire on the 4th September 1871, Hugo returned to France and spent the rest of his life in Paris, wielding a literary ascendency there which nobody challenged. *L'Année terrible* describes the Franco-Prussian war-time, and the novel *Quatre-vingt-treize* goes back to the French Revolution and depicts it with all the wealth of imagination and knowledge which Hugo so overwhelmingly possessed. He died in 1885, the foremost man of letters in France and in the world at that time, and was given a public funeral, greater in its universal manifestations of interest, its thronged attendance, than is accorded to kings and emperors.

Another Frenchman through whom the nature of things was speaking in the mid-nineteenth century was Charles Forbes René, Comte de Montalembert. He was the son of a French *emigré* and an English mother, and was born in London in 1810. After the Bourbon Restoration his family returned to France, and the young Montalembert was put to school at the Collège Ste-Barbe in Paris. He never went to a university, but travelled for a time before he definitely settled in Paris, in 1830. After this he helped to write *L'Avenir*, the Catholic newspaper in which he collaborated with the Abbés Lamennais and Lacordaire. All

three, the layman and the two priests, were earnest, devout Roman Catholics, loyal to the Pope, and to all constituted authority, but open to the new national and democratic movements, and zealous for freedom. Their ideas were too modern for Pope Gregory XVI, and *L'Avenir* was condemned by the Vatican.

The layman found it more easy than the priests to make his conscience submit to the dictates of the Holy See. Lamennais died in 1854, a disappointed man, unable to bring himself to make his peace with the Church. Lacordaire become first a popular preacher somewhat of the free-lance kind, but later a Dominican monk. Montalembert remained an eloquent exponent of orthodox but enlightened Roman Catholicism. His political books, letters, and speeches gave him fame as a statesman; and his great work, *The Monks of the West* (*Les Moines d'Occident*), brought home to the general public as well as to scholars the medieval glories of the Catholic Church. He lived until 1870, the leader of the 'Ultramontanes' in France, and the most liberal and modern of them. Before he died he accepted the dogma of Papal Infallibility which was proclaimed at the Vatican Council next year. No historian of the nineteenth century can afford to disregard the profound influence of Montalembert and the French Catholic Revival.

§ 2. *The Iberian Peninsula*

The most sorely tried portion of Europe, outside Turkey in Europe, was probably the Iberian Peninsula. Here civil war went on for fifteen years, part of the time in Portugal, and for the last seven or eight years in Spain. Both civil wars had exactly the same sort of cause: they were both dynastic struggles and had nothing to do with republicanism.

From 1807 to 1821 the Portuguese Royal Family lived in Brazil. Portugal itself was under a Regency which employed a number of British officers. In 1820 these officers were compelled to leave by a small revolution, and a more liberal form of constitution was introduced. John VI was somewhat peremptorily invited to return to Portugal. This he did, leaving his

elder son, Pedro, as Regent of Brazil (1821). In 1822 the Brazilians besought Pedro to declare himself Emperor of Brazil, a step which after much searching of heart he consented to take (October 1822). With the help of Admiral Cochrane and other British officers recruited into the Brazilian service, the Portuguese garrisons were expelled. Pedro I was an enlightened ruler and under him and his successor, Pedro II, who reigned from 1831 to 1889, Brazil was well governed.

At home, in Portugal, John VI reigned, and died in 1826. Pedro of Brazil deciding to stand by his adopted country, renounced his rights to Portugal, and sent his daughter Maria to reign at Lisbon in his stead. As Maria was only a child, Dom Miguel, her uncle (Pedro's younger brother) became regent for her. But he soon changed from being regent to rival, and declared himself king. A war ensued in which real heroism and devotion to their cause was shown on both sides. The Powers of Europe stood aloof from the struggle, although volunteers were permitted to enlist. Among others Captain Charles Napier took service under Queen Maria, and gained the battle of Cape St. Vincent in 1833 against the Miguelite fleet. In 1834 Dom Miguel, by the Convention of Evora, consented to leave the country. He was given a pension by the Government of Queen Maria, but, refusing to take it, he retired to Italy. He died in 1866 at the Château of Bronnbach in Baden.

In 1836 Queen Maria married Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and founded a dynasty which reigned in Portugal until the revolution of 1910. Throughout this period the condition of the country was never prosperous. The Miguelite War had discovered a good deal of the ancient spirit of Portugal. Supporters of Queen Maria, like the Duke of Saldanha and the Duke of Terceira, showed ability, courage, and public spirit. But the war left the country thoroughly exhausted and the Government a prey to faction. Civil tumults broke out again in 1847, and this time a small British expedition actually intervened to keep the peace. The disease of faction continued to poison Portuguese political life. Public spirit decayed and the lack of morale of the people, once so heroic, made them of no account at all in the affairs of Europe.

Spain was in no better plight than Portugal, except that owing to its mountainous character and the rigour of the climate, the population never became so morally exhausted as the Portuguese: they stood the strain of prolonged civil wars and faction-fights better.

In 1833 Ferdinand VII died, having secured the legal recognition of his eldest daughter, Isabella, as his heir. This almost at once caused a civil war, for the late King's brother, Don Carlos, claimed the throne and found many supporters, especially in the Basque region. Louis-Philippe of France seemed ready to intervene, but Great Britain stood for non-intervention; and as France and Great Britain were allies, they agreed to let the struggle in Spain be fought out by itself. However, the British Government suspended the Foreign Enlistment Act and allowed Isabella's Government to recruit an English Legion for service in Spain. The Legion, commanded by Colonel de Lacy Evans, fought well for about two years (1835–7). The war, however, dragged on until 1839 when it was ended by the Convention of Vergara. The reasons why it had taken so long were, firstly that Spain is divided by its mountains into regions, and that each region has strong local feeling: when once a region had taken a side in the struggle, to support that side became a permanent element in the local patriotism. The second reason was that Don Carlos was a conservative and 'clerical' man, while Isabella's supporters were mostly liberals or *progresistas*. Therefore the priests nearly all supported Don Carlos, and a religious element was imported into the struggle. On the other hand the British Government, as was its habit in every continental dispute, favoured the side of Constitutional Government, that is, the side of Queen Isabella. In the end the British diplomacy, when Lord Clarendon was Minister at Madrid, greatly contributed to the ending of the civil war in 1839.

When Don Carlos left Spain, peace came upon the country. Isabella's best general, Espartero, having devoted his arms to end the war, now helped to administer the peace. In 1843, however, he was displaced by General Narvaez, and political factions began to disturb the current of affairs again.

In 1846 Queen Isabella married her cousin, Don Francisco de Cadiz, on the same day (8th October) as her sister, Donna Louisa married Louis-Philippe's son, the Duc de Montpensier. It was generally believed that Don Francisco and Queen Isabella could not have children, and that consequently the Duc de Montpensier and Donna Louisa would succeed to the throne. Louis-Philippe undoubtedly hoped and designed that this would happen. When the double marriages took place the British Government (Lord Palmerston being Foreign Secretary) protested that this was a violation of the Treaties of Utrecht, which stipulated that

Isabella II *Don Carlos*

the Crowns of France and Spain should never be joined together. Louis-Philippe disregarded the protest, and the incident, which was the talk of all Europe at the time, passed away and was forgotten, because a son (Alfonso XII) was born to Queen Isabella in 1857. But the incident had the effect of breaking the *entente* between France and Great Britain, and also, for a time, of diminishing the interest of the British Government in Spanish affairs. For the rest of Isabella's reign, Spain had peace, but the prestige of the monarchy declined and a republican party began to make its presence felt in politics.

§ 3. *The Zollverein*

In the fifty years after the Congress of Vienna the political and economic condition of Germany greatly improved. The Zollverein was one of the chief means of bringing this about.

The 'German Committee' of the Congress of Vienna had constructed a 'Germanic Confederation' in which Austria was President and in which a Diet of delegates from all the thirty-eight States formed a sort of legislative body. The Confederation was a very loose union, each State in it retaining full rights of sovereignty. It was, however, fairly satisfactory. Germany was sufficiently united to prevent any foreign Power from interfering with it. Internally, Austria, Prussia, and the medium-sized States formed a fair balance of power, so that none should fall under the domination of another. For commercial purposes the States could and did join together, so that they had all the economic advantages of a large empire. It is a great pity that the German States ever allowed themselves to be robbed of the old, free Federal Constitution of 1815, and to be brought, instead, under the iron-bound union of the Prussian-made empire of 1871.

The only serious disadvantage of the old Confederation was that it left every one of the thirty-eight States with their separate customs-tariffs which they rigidly enforced against each other. A way out of this difficulty, however, was gradually made by the formation of a Customs-Union or *Zollverein*. This Customs-Union was made by a number of separate treaties which the various States from time to time negotiated with each other, and which provided for Free Trade inside Germany.

The first step towards internal Free Trade was taken in 1816 by the Prussian Government when it abolished all tariffs between its various provinces. The next step was to induce other States which had pieces of territory enclosed (*enclaves*) within Prussian territory to come into line with the Prussian tariff-system. This the Prussian Government did by charging import dues on all goods passing by way of Prussian territory into another State's *enclave*. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, finding that the trade of its *enclaves* was suffering, made in 1819 a treaty for the division of these duties between the two States. But the great step in the formation of the Zollverein came in 1828 when Hesse Darmstadt, one of the medium-sized States, joined the Prussian Customs-Union. After this, gradually, nearly all the other

German States, except Austria (which was always refused admittance), joined the Zollverein, until in 1854 it was practically complete. It continued as long as the German Empire lasted.

By the terms of the various treaties which formed the Zollverein, the German States agreed to have free trade with each other. Thus for economic purposes they were a unit, practically as if they formed one State. The affairs of the Zollverein were, according to the treaties, managed by meetings of officials who were deputed by the component States. These meetings settled the policy of the Union; they arranged, for instance, for the building of through-roads, and apportioned the expense according to the population of each State. As the intervention of machinery, the growth of factories, canals, or railways (in short what is called the Industrial Revolution), was taking place in Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century, the existence of free commercial intercourse between the different States of the Confederation was a thing of the highest importance.

The only objection advanced against the Zollverein was that it was too Prussian. It was the Prussian Government (being the most efficient in Germany) which had started the Zollverein, and which showed the greatest energy in developing it. Before it was complete, other States, fearing Prussian domination, tried starting a Zollverein of their own. In 1828 Saxony, Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg, Bremen, and Frankfort formed a Middle German Customs-Union. But the Prussian Union was the best managed, and built a through-road from Langensalza to Würzburg, thus giving direct communication with Bavaria. The bulk of trade gravitated inevitably to the efficient Prussian Zollverein, and so gradually the other States came in; for instance Bavaria and Wurtemberg joined it in 1833, and the States of the Middle German Union also, in time, followed suit. In 1851 even Austria demanded admission, but Prussia, which did not want a powerful rival, refused. Thus, through Prussia's egoism, the Zollverein was left imperfect, and the way was left open for the later establishing of a Prussian military empire.

§ 4. *The Frankfort Parliament and Olmütz*

In the middle of the nineteenth century the moderate and progressive elements in the German people tried to change the Confederation into a closer union. This union would have been a constitutional monarchy, created by general consent, not by force ; it would, therefore, have been free from the defects of the later empire which was formed by war in 1866 and 1871, the military empire that so disturbed all European statesmen for the rest of the century.

The mid-century effort at a constitutional empire came about as follows. There were in Germany a large number of enlightened men, professors in the universities, school teachers, writers, and (not so many) lawyers and civil servants. Those, who are usually known as the German Liberals, had much the same views on society and government as had the British Conservatives and Liberals, or the Italian Constitutional monarchists. German Liberalism was a great, inspiring force. The real tragedy of German history in the nineteenth century was the gradual surrender of the Liberals to the militarists (the *Junkers*) which took place between 1860 and 1871. In 1848, however, the German Liberals were very strong.

In February of that year a revolution occurred in Paris. King Louis-Philippe had not ruled badly ; he was a ' middle-class ' king, but the truth is, he had not trusted the middle-class sufficiently. When he was forced to abdicate, a Republic was established in Paris. It was as if a signal had been given to all the republicans in Europe, and it was astonishing to see how many there were. In Rome people rose, drove out the Pope, and formed a Roman Republic under Garibaldi and Mazzini. In Venice Daniele Manin raised the citizens, drove out the Austrian garrisons, and made a Venetian Republic. In Milan, the capital of Lombardy, the Austrian troops were expelled. Doubtless Milan would have become a republic too, had it not been thought wise to accept the support of Charles Albert of the neighbouring kingdom of Sardinia.

These events, however, only indirectly affected Germany. Here the revolutionary spirit was equally active. A revolution, chiefly in the hands of the students of the University, broke out in Vienna on the 13th March (1848), and the Emperor Ferdinand I had to flee to Innsbruck. At the same time the Magyars, who had a 'national' grievance, rose against Austrian domination in Hungary. The whole Habsburg Empire, in Austria, Hungary, Croatia, and Northern Italy, was smashed to pieces. With Austria in dissolution, the Germanic Confederation, of which Austria was head, went into dissolution also.

It was now that the German Liberals—National Liberals, that is, men of 'constitutional' views who wanted Germany to be a nation—took their steps towards turning the Confederation into a Constitutional Empire. The movement was led by Heinrich von Gagern, a member of a famous family of civil servants and publicists. A sort of general election, quite unofficial, was held throughout Germany, and members were elected to a National Parliament. This assembled in the *Paulskirche* at Frankfort, one of the four surviving Free Cities, and memorable as the home of Goethe, on the 31st March 1848.

The Frankfort Parliament represented all the best elements in Germany, the 'noble, patient, deep, pious, and solid Germany' which Carlyle loved and wrote about. The delegates soon got to work. They began to make a constitution and they looked around for a head. Austria had been the head of the Confederation, but Austria was now in pieces, torn by rebellions and revolutions. There was only one strong, central Power in Germany; this was Prussia. The Frankfort Parliament on the 12th March 1849 offered the new Imperial Crown to Frederick William IV. He refused.

This was the end of the grand experiment of the German Liberals at uniting the Empire under Constitutional Monarchy. It was a tragic failure, due in the first place to King Frederick William IV. The despicable hauteur of the Hohenzollerns ruined everything. Frederick William would not accept a crown on a constitutional basis. If he had assented to the Frankfort offer he would have been required also to accept a cabinet and a

parliament of the English kind: but the Hohenzollerns believed in a divine right to govern absolutely.

The German Liberals were too easily beaten. They ought to have found another monarch to be their emperor. To do so would have meant splitting up Germany, for neither Prussia nor Austria would have come into the new empire. But a Constitutional Empire, with, say, the King of Hanover or Bavaria as head, lacking Prussia and Austria, would have made a very fine Power, liberal and cultivated, without either the militarism of the Hohenzollerns or the obscurantism of the Habsburgs. Munich would have made a splendid capital; Weimar, Dresden, and Darmstadt would have kept their ancient glory and culture free from the centralizing influence of Berlin.

All this, however, was not to be. The King of Prussia had refused the Constitutional Crown. Nobody else had the spirit to dispose of it otherwise. Meanwhile the old Austria was coming back.

Obscurantist though the old Habsburg régime was, yet it had a grand spirit. When revolutions broke forth in nearly every corner of the Austrian dominions, and when Metternich, the pillar of Europe since the Congress of Vienna, had to flee to England for shelter, two things held fast. One was the Austrian Army, a solid force with a fine tradition of loyalty. Its sterling, if not brilliant, qualities are sympathetically described by an observer who had no love for the Austrian cause, George Meredith (1828–1909), in his novel *Vittoria*. The other thing which held fast was the bureaucracy. Easy-going and unimaginative, the Viennese bureaucracy, flitting with its offices from one harbour of refuge to another, kept a sort of administration together. And when the Emperor brought Prince Schwarzenberg from the Legation at Naples to be Chancellor of Austria, the bureaucracy found that it had a *man*.

Schwarzenberg (1800–52) is the last great Austrian. Fine as well as supple, adroit and intelligent, he kept his head clear amid the tumult, and preserved his aim steadily, the restoration of Austrian power. His first act was to induce the Emperor Ferdinand I, who had failed in face of the revolution, to abdi-

cate (2nd December 1848). His nephew, Francis Joseph, became Emperor. With a new reign, Schwarzenberg could make a new start.

The army was doing its work well. Field-Marshal Windischgrätz had taken Prague (June 1848) and Vienna (October). In Italy, Field-Marshal Radetzky, who had been a general in the wars against Napoleon, stood firm behind the Quadrilateral (Mantua, Verona, Peschiera, and Legnago) against the Sardinian Army. The battle of Novara (23rd March 1849) brought victory to the Austrian eagles. The revolution in Lombardy was at an end.

Hungary was the most difficult place to deal with, for the Magyars were a strong, military race, with considerable organizing ability. They produced armies, arsenals, and, most difficult of all, generals. Görgei and Bem showed military capacity as high as any among the Austrians. But the Magyars were never popular, Schwarzenberg was able to send the local forces of Croatia, led by their Ban or Governor, Jellachich, against the Hungarian revolution. This danger the Magyars might have met. But the Tsar Nicholas I had to be reckoned with too. Reviving the ideal of the Holy Alliance, he sent his armies to the help of a youthful brother monarch, beset by revolution. On the 13th August 1849 General Görgei surrendered to the Russian general Paskievitch at Vilagos.

The old Habsburg Empire thus recovered its full strength. The old Germanic Confederation was to come back too. The Frankfort Parliament maintained an ambiguous existence after the refusal of Frederick William IV to be Emperor, but in the face of opposition from Austria and from Prussia, and of its own ineffectiveness, it had lost all authority. It disappeared on the 18th June 1849.

Then the Prussian Government saw its chance. Frederick William had refused the Constitutional Imperial Crown. He might now grasp an Imperial Crown more to his liking. In May 1849 he concluded a *Dreikönigsbündnis*, an alliance of Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover; and with their help assembled a parliament of German States at Erfurt (March 1850). But by this time Austria was resuming its grasp upon public affairs. When the

Erfurt Parliament began its sessions, Schwarzenberg at once, according to the Federal Constitution as established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, summoned a meeting of the old Frankfort Diet. This was the law of the land. Even Prussia could not refuse to send delegates. The old Confederation was restored, with Austria as President.

There were some people who thought that Prussia might still challenge this settlement, and might fight for the leadership. A local revolution occurred in Hesse-Cassel. This was a breach of public order in Germany: Federal troops could suppress it. But Prussia claimed to do so by itself. In November 1850 Prussian and Federal troops (contingents of Austria and Bavaria) faced each other near Fulda in Hesse-Cassel. Would they fight? At Berlin the King of Prussia with his councillors debated this point: would they take up the Austrian challenge and contend for the leadership of Germany? Peaceful councils prevailed, and instead of war, an agreement was signed with Austria at Olmütz, 29th November 1850. Austria was still head of the Confederation.

The year 1848, and the period immediately preceding and following it, were troublesome for the statesmen who were responsible for Europe's peace. Only two countries, Great Britain and Belgium, were free from revolutionary disturbances in 1847–8. Even the usually tranquil state of Switzerland, solidly grounded in its system of neutrality, guaranteed by international treaties, experienced a civil war. In 1846–7, seven of the twenty-two cantons which compose Switzerland formed a league by themselves (*Sonderbund*), and withdrew from the Confederation. Their quarrel with the other cantons was chiefly religious. They objected to the expulsion of Jesuits and to the policy of secularizing monasteries. The Sonderbund, however, was defeated in 1847 by the Swiss Federal troops who were led by General Dufour of Geneva. Had Dufour (1787–1875) belonged to a Great Power he would have been one of the grand marshals of the nineteenth century. As it was, he was content with the smaller theatre of Swiss affairs. He quelled the Sonderbund and showed tact in victory, in dealing with the rebellious

citizens. When all was over a new Constitution was made, giving the Federal Government greater authority than before; since then Switzerland has not been threatened by internal strife, and has been able to devote her surplus energy to works of peace, to international law, and the labours of the Red Cross. It was in 1863 that Henri Dunant founded at Geneva the International Red Cross Society; the recent Austro-Franco-Italian War (1859) had impressed him with the need for some such organization, to assist wounded soldiers and prisoners.

Supplementary Dates.

XIX

1830 First Poems of Gautier.
Auber's *Fra Diavolo.*
1831 Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame.*
1832 Goethe's *Faust,* Part II.
Silvio Pellico's *My Imprisonment.*
1833 Death of Ferdinand VII of Spain. Outbreak of Carlist Wars.
1834 Convention of Vergara ends Carlist Wars.
1835 Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor.*
1836 Meyerbeer's *Gli Ugonotti.*
De Musset's *Confession d'un enfant du siècle.*
1840 Dom Miguel consents to leave Portugal at Convention of Evora.
1843 Mill's *Logic.*
1844 Dumas's *Monte-Cristo.*
1849 Sainte-Beuve begins the *Causeries du lundi.*
1851 Verdi's *Rigoletto.*
1855 Giesebrecht's *History of the Mediaeval Empire.*
1856 De Tocqueville's *Ancien Régime.*
1860 Tolstoi's *War and Peace.*

XX

NAPOLEON III AND THE UNION OF ITALY

The great Napoleon died at St. Helena on the 5th May 1821. The second Napoleon, known as the Duke of Reichstadt, was brought up as an Austrian prince. He was a precocious youth, fond of military affairs, and devoted to physical exercise. A weakness of the chest brought on a decline and he died on the 22nd July 1832 at the age of twenty-one.

The third Napoleon was the son of Louis-Napoleon (younger brother of Napoleon I) and Hortense Beauharnais. He was born on the 20th April 1808 at Paris. In later years the mother and father lived apart. Hortense with her two sons lived at the Castle of Arenenberg, on the Lake of Constance in Switzerland. The family was fairly wealthy: the young Bonapartes were brought up as young noblemen who had a splendid fortune but who, from the circumstances of their history, did not belong to any of the European aristocracies. The young Louis-Napoleon was sent to school at Augsburg. He grew up studious, well informed, and, being bound to no country, he formed an international point of view on all subjects. After leaving school and visiting Italy (where he 'dreamed' on the banks of the Rubicon), he entered the Swiss artillery as a lieutenant, and employed some of his leisure in writing a military handbook. In 1831 he went to Italy with his brother and took part in a rebellion for the freeing of the Romagna from the Pope. In this expedition the elder brother died, and Louis thus became the head of the family of Bonaparte.[1] He continued to lead a studious life in Switzerland, and later in London, writing books on social and political affairs; the most important was the *Idées Napoléoniennes* (1838), an interesting book written to prove that the great Napoleon was a whole-hearted lover of humanity who fought simply to make people free, independent, and democratic. All this time Louis-Napoleon was also mingling in society and observing men and

[1] The name of the elder brother was Louis. The name of the younger (Napoleon III) was really Charles-Louis.

things. He made two attempts (1836 and 1840) to raise a revolution in his favour in France, but both failed. On the last occasion he was captured and spent five years in prison at Ham before he escaped. The Revolution of 1848, however, enabled him to take up his residence in Paris as a private citizen.

The revolution which broke out on the 22nd February 1848, resulting in the abdication and flight of King Louis-Philippe, was at first directed by Lamartine, the famous poet (1790–1869), who was also a politician. Soon, however, the revolution took on a Socialist aspect. Under the impulsion of Louis Blanc and Émile Thomas the Provisional Government established National Workshops in which every unemployed workman was given the right to work at standard rates of pay. But the productiveness of the National Workshops was so low, the cost so ruinous, that they had to be given up. An outbreak of the mob was only quelled by the firmness of Lamartine and General Cavaignac. It is said that in the street-fighting 10,000 workmen were either killed or wounded.

On the 23rd October a new Republican Constitution for France passed the Assembly. Louis-Napoleon, who stood for the Presidency against Cavaignac, was elected by five million votes against one and a half million (10 December 1848). His power, as President, was strictly limited by the Constitution. So, with his half-brother, the Duc de Morny, Louis-Napoleon prepared a conspiracy. General St. Arnaud (an energetic adventurer who had shown his ruthlessness in the Algerian wars) directed the troops, and Morny, as Chief Minister, directed the civil servants. On the night of the 1st–2nd December 1851 notices were posted up in Paris proclaiming the suppression of the Constitution. When the Parisians woke up and read these, they found the streets and public buildings occupied by St. Arnaud's troops. Cavaignac, Thiers, and many other republican politicians were quietly put in prison.

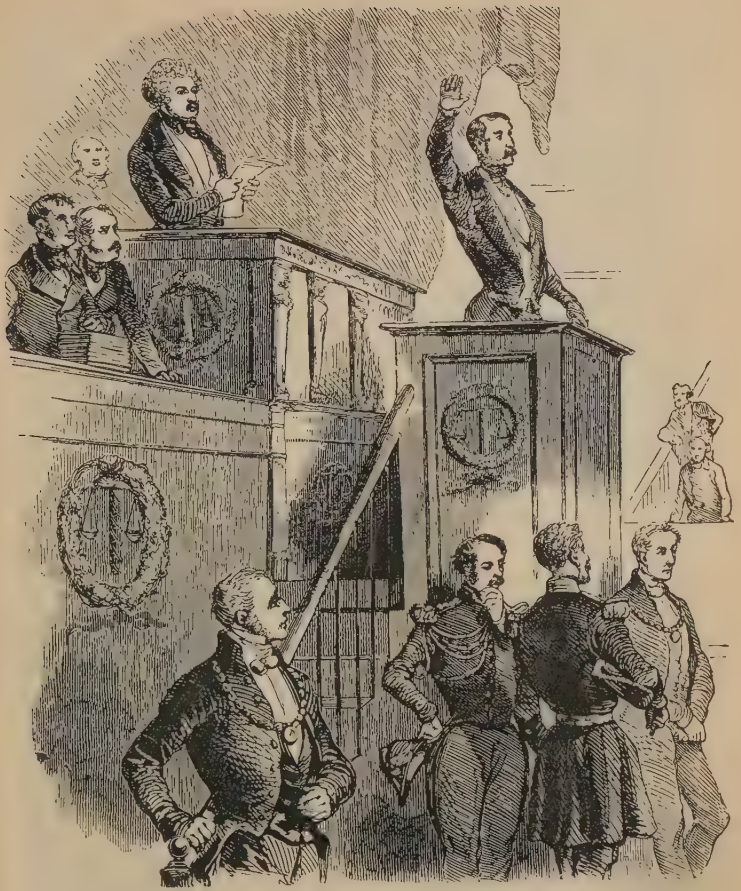
This was the famous *Coup d'état* of 1851. A month later (January 1852) the President issued a new Constitution, with a Senate and Legislative body, all very much under his own control. And finally, on the 22nd November, after a plebiscite

of the whole male population, the hereditary empire was restored in the person of the President, who took the title of Napoleon III.

His triumph was due partly to an unscrupulous use of the French administrative machinery, partly to the popularity of the great Napoleon's name. '*La France s'ennuie*'—'France is bored', Lamartine had said, and the people turned with something of interest and excitement from the prudent middle-class rule of Louis-Philippe to the 'Napoleonic Legend'. They were also ready to give their fortunes into the safe hands of a dictator in order to keep away the spectre of anarchy, and the ruinous wastefulness of the National Workshops. Nevertheless the genuine republicans, like Victor Hugo, never forgave Louis-Napoleon for the *coup d'état*, for having conspired against the Constitution, which, as President, he had sworn to defend.

This at least can be said of Napoleon III: if the methods by which he gained the throne were dubious, he tried honestly, when he was actually on the throne, to reign for the good of France and of Europe. He had admirable ideas. 'The Empire is peace', he said in a speech at Bordeaux in 1852. He believed in two things which, though very difficult to reconcile, are both for the good of the world: nationalism and internationalism. He believed that if a people, for instance, the Italians, were conscious of its individuality and wanted to be independent, it should be allowed to become so. At the same time he firmly held that all nations should be internationally minded, that they should trade freely with each other, that their members should meet in International Exhibitions, and that if they had any differences or disputes, these should be settled by arbitration and not by war.

In France Napoleon III worked hard to promote national prosperity. He encouraged the building of railways: the *Chemin de fer de l'Est* and the *Chemin de fer de l'Ouest* were largely constructed during the early years of his reign. A great steamship line, the *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique*, was founded. The Emperor helped to establish, under Government support, popular banks—the *Crédit Mobilier* and the *Crédit Foncier*—to enable tradesmen to get capital for their business, and to enable farmers to buy their farms. He was the energetic patron of exhibitions,



LOUIS NAPOLEON, THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE.

From 'The Illustrated London News' of 1848

and none was finer than the Paris Exhibition of 1867, three years before the fall of the French Empire. To this exhibition came, it almost seemed, the whole of European Society; and Paris welcomed them with all its brilliant charm. There are people still alive who remember that halcyon summer, the care-free crowds, the incessant coming and going of travellers, the displays of beautiful articles at the Exhibition itself, the unsurpassed Grand Opera, when Offenbach's *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* was produced. Napoleon III, and his energetic Prefect of the Seine, Baron Haussmann, have left their mark deeply upon Paris, in the grand boulevards which they constructed through the city.

Yet Napoleon III was muddle-headed. With the best will in the world for peace, he blundered into four European wars, and two wars overseas, in China and Mexico. And yet, in spite of all this fighting, the French army at the end of his reign was less efficient than it had been for two hundred years.

The first war occurred in 1849. Louis-Napoleon, as President of the Second French Republic, felt the need of conciliating the Roman Catholic voters in France. The Catholic or Ultramontane revival of the 'thirties and 'forties was still a force among the French people. Therefore when Garibaldi and Mazzini established a Republic at Rome, and Pope Pius IX fled to Gaeta, Louis-Napoleon sent a division of French soldiers by sea to Civita Vecchia under Marshal Oudinot. The Marshal broke the resistance of the Roman Republic and restored the Pope. For the next twenty years French soldiers garrisoned Rome, and were a sort of millstone round the neck of the French Emperor.

The next war was in the Crimea. In 1853 the Tsar Nicholas I had proposed to the British Ambassador at Petersburg a scheme of partition of the Turkish Empire, which the Tsar called 'The Sick Man of Europe'. The British Government, however, would not consent. At the same time the Russian and French Governments became involved in a dispute between Greek and Roman Catholic monks in Bethlehem, concerning the custody of the Holy Places. When the French gained what they claimed, the Tsar countered it by demanding from Turkey the position of Protector of all Turkish subjects who worshipped according to the rites

Garibaldi

From an engraving taken from a photograph by D. J. Pound

of the Greek Church. The Sultan refused. The Tsar at once sent his armies over the Pruth and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia (June 1853). This looked like the beginning of a partition of Turkey. To check it the British and French Fleets were sent to Constantinople, October 1853. Out of this action came the military participation of France and Britain in the Russo-Turkish War.

For the purposes of the war the French and British governments formed an alliance, and their armies together (helped later by the Sardinians) carried out the expedition into the Crimea (September 1854) and the siege and capture of Sebastopol. When Sebastopol was taken, on the 8th September 1855, Napoleon III, as he always tended to do, made a sudden resolve to stop fighting. He could never persist to the end. The British Government (always a slow starter) was really only just beginning to get into its full military strength, and would have liked to pursue the war to a definite conclusion. But as Napoleon meant to stop, Great Britain had to agree to make peace too. The result was the Treaty of Paris.

Although Russia had not been decisively beaten, she conceded nearly all that the Allies demanded. The peace was made at Paris, where a Congress of Great Britain, France, Russia, Sardinia, with the neutrals Austria and Prussia, assembled from the 25th February to the 18th April 1856. The main treaty was signed on the 30th March. It stipulated for three things: firstly, Turkey was admitted 'into the Public Law and Concert of Europe'. Secondly, the areas of Serbia and Montenegro were increased, and Moldavia and Wallachia were made practically independent of Turkey. Thirdly, the Black Sea was neutralized, Russia and Turkey alike being debarred from fortifying the coasts, or maintaining fleets there. With regard to the Bosphorus and Dardanelles the 'ancient rule' was reaffirmed, namely, that Turkey should admit no foreign warships to the Straits so long as she herself was at peace.

The Crimean War gave a new lease of life to the Ottoman State. It is still too early for a historian to be able to say whether this was worth doing or not, although everybody must recognize that the Turkey of to-day shows marked signs of progress.

Balaclava Harbour, with British Fleet and Transports

From a photograph taken at the time

Most people will agree that the next effort of Napoleon III was beneficent: he helped very decisively to make United Italy. French officers in the Crimea used to speak of the *Don-Quichottisme* of their service there: they might have applied the same word to their service in Lombardy.

When the revolt against Austria and the Temporal Power of the Pope occurred in Italy in 1848, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, had joined the national side with the proud proclamation: *Italia farà da sè.* But the result of this first War of Liberation proved that Italy could not 'do the work by herself'. When defeated at Novara in March 1849, Charles Albert abdicated the throne of Sardinia in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. He died in the same year at Oporto (29 July 1849).

The new king was a vigorous young man, with a natural ability for soldiering, like nearly all the members of the House of Savoy. His chief pleasure in life was to go with a few companions into the Alps of Savoy, hunting for days together, eating simple meals of bread and cheese, putting off all the trappings of royalty. But Victor Emmanuel was a statesman too: he saw that the future of Italy lay with constitutional monarchy. He honoured the pledges which his father had given for constitutional government. He ruled, after the British manner, through a Cabinet and Parliament. And having found a first-class Minister in Count Cavour, Victor Emmanuel stood by him for life.

When Cavour became chief Minister of Victor Emmanuel in 1852 he saw that two things were necessary if the Italian Movement was to attain success: one was the support of European opinion; the other was a strong ally. The poets and politicians, men like Leopardi, Manzoni, and Mazzini, had created a strong Italian sentiment in Italy. A head for the movement existed in the King of Sardinia. But unless public opinion in Europe approved of it the movement was unlikely to succeed. For it implied suppressing certain European treaties, and for this the consent of Europe, or the support of European opinion, was necessary. Even with this, however, the Italians could not force the powerful military State of Austria to consent to the

suppression of the treaties which gave to Austria Lombardy and Venice. This would probably require a war, and to defeat Austria in the field the Italians needed a powerful ally.

The skill of Cavour is seen particularly in this: he gained the general support of European opinion for the Italian Movement, and he gained the military alliance of Napoleon III.

To attract the attention and support of European opinion (at least of Western European opinion) Cavour encouraged the numerous Italian exiles, in Paris, Geneva, London, and Brussels, to write in the newspapers. A large number of these exiles were journalists. They received good information from Turin and other Italian centres. They supplied journals like the *Indépendance Belge* or *The Times* and *Morning Post* with excellent 'copy', and gradually they created an international atmosphere favourable to the Italian Movement. This atmosphere was further promoted by the spirited action of the Sardinian Government in joining France and England in the Crimean War, and contributing 15,000 troops under General La Marmora.

To secure the military support of Napoleon III in a Sardinian war against Austria was not easy. France had no quarrel with Austria. The only inducement was the 'Napoleonic Legend' that France had once freed Italy, and so should do it again. The attempt of Felice Orsini to assassinate Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie as they left the Opera House on the 14th January 1858 is supposed to have directed the Emperor's mind more intently to the Italian Question. The final touch was made by Cavour himself, who met Napoleon at Plombières on the 21st July 1858. Plombières is a pleasant village or township, with mineral springs, in the Vosges, about two miles from Épinal. At that time it was one of the fashionable watering-places in Europe. It was the custom in those days, and until recently, for statesmen to go to some spa every summer or autumn for a holiday; and thus, if necessary, they could discuss politics informally with each other, without attracting much notice. Cavour, who always took a fortnight's holiday each year in or near Switzerland, made it convenient in the summer of '58 to spend two nights at Plombières. A walk and a drive among the

surrounding woods permitted him to suggest to Napoleon that France might acquire the Sardinian provinces of Savoy and Nice in return for military help in Italy.

Next year the fruits of the Plombières meeting became manifest. For months there had been tension between Sardinia and Austria. The British and French Governments proposed that Austria should peacefully hand over Lombardy to Sardinia in return for a pecuniary indemnity. Austria refused to sell her province. Apparently only war could settle the Austro-Sardinian Question. Fortunately for Sardinia, Austria declared war first, and so appeared as the aggressor. Napoleon III at once put his armies in motion on the Sardinian side. Troops were swiftly poured into Italy, the Emperor himself going with them. For the first time in a great war railways were used. Troops went by train to St. Jean-de-Maurienne, then marched over the Mont Cenis Pass, and entrained again at Susa (the Mont Cenis tunnel was not completed until 1870). The Franco-Sardinian army defeated the Austrians at Magenta on the 4th June and at Solferino on the 24th June. Milan and practically the whole of Lombardy were won. The Sardinians were expecting an advance to begin against the Quadrilateral, into Venetia, when suddenly Napoleon stopped and made the Franco-Austrian Treaty of Peace of Villafranca, 11th July 1859.

The Treaty of Villafranca staggered the Italians. Napoleon had promised to pursue the war until Italy should be free from the Alps 'to the Adriatic', that is, until Venetia as well as Lombardy should be acquired. Now, however, having gained Lombardy for the Italians, he suddenly, without consulting his Allies, made terms with the enemy; by these Sardinia was to get Lombardy, but no more. Whether he was right or wrong, nobody can tell. His army, although victorious, had suffered badly at Magenta and Solferino. Dysentery and typhoid had broken out among the soldiers. The Austrian army was still grimly standing ready to fight within the mighty defences of the Quadrilateral. So Napoleon may have judged rightly in making a 'compromise' peace. Nevertheless this left another war certain to come later on—for Venetia.

A photograph of Rome and the Tiber taken in the seventies

When the Treaty of Villafranca had been made Cavour threw down his portfolio in rage and disgust; but Victor Emmanuel made the best of the situation, acquiesced in the peace, and accepted Lombardy. Naturally Napoleon, by not pursuing the war to the agreed end, had forfeited his right to Nice and Savoy.

Before the year 1859 was finished Victor Emmanuel had received the whole of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Romagna, acquisitions which consoled him for not having gained Venice. While the campaign of Magenta and Solferino was in progress, the populations in the Central Italian States, the Duchies of Modena and Parma, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and the Papal province of Romagna, made a revolution in the cause of United Italy and offered themselves to King Victor Emmanuel. The Sardinian Government, eager though it was, could scarcely accept this, just after it had agreed to the Peace of Villafranca; however, by reopening the offer of Nice and Savoy to Napoleon III, Cavour (who had resumed his portfolio in January 1860) obtained the French Emperor's consent, and so the protests of Austria could be disregarded. In March (1860) the Sardinian Government, in the name of King Victor Emmanuel, took possession of the Central Italian Duchies and the Papal territory of Romagna. Austria loudly (and legitimately) protested. Napoleon III said nothing, but (in April 1860), after taking the votes of the populations of Savoy and Nice, annexed these Sardinian territories. The British Government of Lord Palmerston, openly sympathetic to the Italian Movement, put no obstacle in Victor Emmanuel's way, although it intensely disliked the French annexation of Savoy and Nice.

The work of Napoleon III in Italy was now done. He thought that the Italian Movement had gone far enough. He had to keep on good terms with the clerical party in France, so his troops still garrisoned Rome, and he was determined that the King of Italy should never have it. When Garibaldi got together a thousand Italian free-lances in May 1860 and made a descent upon Sicily (the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily), Napoleon III was openly resentful.

Garibaldi's Expedition of the Thousand was an astonishing

Cavour in 1834

From a miniature painted for the Countess Giustiniani

success. The Neapolitan army, infected by the Italian Movement, made almost no resistance to him; the mass of the people welcomed him. After taking possession of Sicily, Garibaldi crossed the Straits and took a large part of the territory of Naples too. Cavour then threw off the mask, and sent Sardinian troops to the Kingdom of Naples. King Victor Emmanuel himself came down to Naples to regulate matters with the famous soldier whose position in international law was technically that of a private. Garibaldi, having won a kingdom, quietly gave it up. In November 1860 he handed over his power to Victor Emmanuel, who declared Naples and Sicily to be part of his dominions. The Bourbon king, Francis II, retired to peace and quiet in Austria. The hero of the Sicilian Expedition, Garibaldi, refused all rewards, and retired to his home on the island-rock of Caprera. Victor Emmanuel crowned the work of 1859–60 by assuming the title of King of Italy (March 1861). But the grand architect of Italian unity, Cavour, did not live to enjoy it. Worn out by his single-minded devotion to his work, Cavour died on the 6th June 1861 at the age of fifty-one.

When in 1866 a war broke out in Germany between Austria and Prussia, Napoleon was caught napping. He remained neutral throughout the brief struggle, while the Kingdom of Italy, making an alliance with Prussia, obtained at the end of the war the Austrian province of Venetia. When, four years later, France and Prussia came to blows, the only interest which Italy took in it was to seize the occasion and occupy Rome. The Temporal Power of the Pope came to an end (20 September 1870). United Italy was complete.

Rome became the capital of Italy, and King Victor Emmanuel dwelt in the Quirinal Palace; but Pope Pius IX (and his successors) refused to come within the national system. The Italian Government, therefore, has permitted the Papacy to enjoy the privilege of 'extra-territoriality': the Vatican and its precincts are treated as an independent little State. The claim of the Papacy to Temporal Power has never been abandoned; indeed, just before the Italian army entered Rome in the summer of 1870, a General Council of the Church assembled

Head-quarters of Garibaldi, at the Convent of San Silvestre in Rome

From 'The Illustrated London News' of 1848

in the Vatican had proclaimed as a fundamental dogma the infallibility of the Pope. But after the death of Pius IX in 1878 the new Pope, Leo XIII (from 1878 to 1903), without sacrificing any of the Papal claims, improved the relations of the Holy See with the Italian Government as well as with other Powers. As a better understanding grew between the Vatican and the Quirinal the last obstacle to a perfect union of Italy passed almost out of memory.

During the middle period of the nineteenth century the British Empire was on good terms with all the Powers of Europe except Russia. Queen Victoria, after her marriage with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg in 1840, had strong German sympathies, although this did not necessarily mean that she had strong sympathies with Prussia. In any case it did not prevent the Queen from cultivating the friendship of the French. In September 1843 she visited King Louis-Philippe at the Château d'Eu in Normandy —the first time that a reigning British sovereign had been to France since Henry VIII. After the fall of Louis-Philippe and the Revolution of 1848 the Queen gradually formed cordial relations with Napoleon III. The Franco-Russian Alliance for the prosecution of the Crimean War naturally strengthened the friendship. In August 1857 Napoleon visited Queen Victoria at Osborne. When, however, Napoleon blundered into the Franco-Prussian War the British Government could do nothing for France ; only when Napoleon was released from the captivity of Wilhelmshöhe in 1871 he and his Empress were able to find a refuge in England at Chislehurst. Thereafter the relations of Great Britain and France were not particularly good until the reign of King Edward VII and the making of the Entente in 1904.

Supplementary Dates.

XX

1852 Cavour becomes Prime Minister in Piedmont.
1853 Unsuccessful insurrection of Mazzini in Milan.
1855 Cavour sends La Marmora to the Crimea with Sardinian troops.
1860 Annexation of the Papal States with the exception of the Patrimonium.
1865 V. Hugo's *Les Misérables.*

XXI

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

THE theory of Socialism implies that private property should not exist, but that the whole means and resources of production and distribution should belong to the community. 'What is property?' said Proudhon in 1840 (meaning *private* property); 'it is theft'—*Qu'est-ce que la propriété? C'est le vol.*[1] Proudhon was born at Besançon in 1809. He was a printer by trade, and took part in the Revolution at Paris in 1848. He was imprisoned by the Government of Louis Napoleon (1849) for three years. He died at Paris in 1865, and is held to be the 'Father of Philosophical Anarchism'. The Russian philosophical anarchist Bakhunin (1814–76) was a friend of Proudhon. Another influential Socialist was Louis Blanc (1811–82), one of the leaders of the French workmen in the Revolution of 1848.

Socialism as a theory was greatly developed and popularized in the latter half of the nineteenth century by Karl Marx. He was born of Jewish parents at Trèves in 1818. At the Universities of Bonn and Berlin he was a student of history and philosophy. In 1843 he settled in Paris. Expelled from there in 1845, he moved to Brussels. After the failure of the Revolutionary movement in Germany in 1848 he went to London. He died at Highgate in 1883.

In London Marx divided his time between political agitation and study in the library of the British Museum. In 1867 he produced his big work, *Das Kapital*, a mine of economic history and theory.

Marx attacked Capital through the theory of *Surplus Value*. According to this theory all wealth is the result of labour. The labour of, for instance, twenty men, each working separately, has a total product of a certain value. The labour of the same

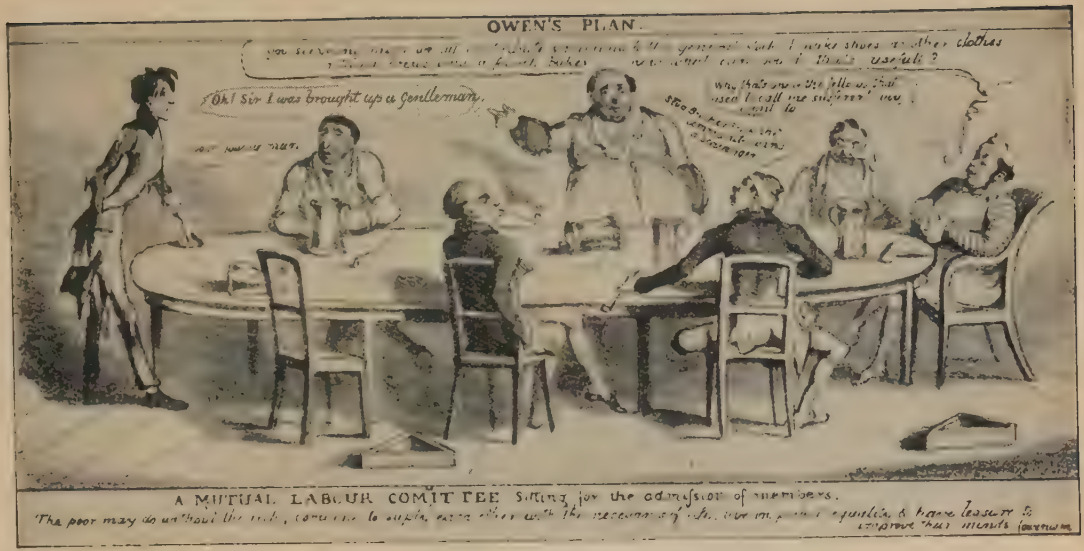
[1] The title of Proudhon's book (1840) was *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?*

twenty men, all co-operating and working as one organization, is worth a great deal more. The difference between the value of the product of single men working in isolation and the same number of men when working together is surplus value. Thus surplus value, said Marx, produced under the system of co-operation and division of labour is exclusively the result of that labour, just as the output of a workman working in isolation is the result of his labour. Therefore, in Marx's view, workmen have the *right to the whole produce of labour*. Hence arose the Communistic or Proletarian Movement which aims at the suppression of all private capitalists, and at placing the ownership of capital, the direction of labour, and the profits of all industry in the hands of the workmen, of the proletariat.

Marx's theory ignores the fact that combination of workmen, if not assisted by both capital and expert management, would produce no surplus value, or rather no value at all. The product of labour is due to Labour, Capital, and Management; and the value of that product, obviously, should be divided between these three agents. This product of labour may be divided fairly or unfairly between these chosen agents, but that each should have a share seems only just. The Communist (or Proletarian) asserts a claim to the whole produce of labour.

In 1836 a number of cosmopolitan exiles living in Paris founded a 'League of the Just'. Three years later they attempted to make a rising in favour of Communism, but the movement was suppressed by the Paris police, and the exiles had to flee to London, which was at that time a sanctuary for all the rebels in Europe. In 1847, under the inspiration of Marx, they formed themselves into the Communist League. In 1847 Marx and his friend Frederick Engels composed for the league *The Communist Manifesto*, which stated that the Proletarian Movement should be achieved by wresting from the *bourgeoisie* the means of production, and by socializing both production and distribution.

The failure of the Revolutions of 1848 (in which there was a distinct communistic as well as political element) in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna was a blow to the Communist League. It



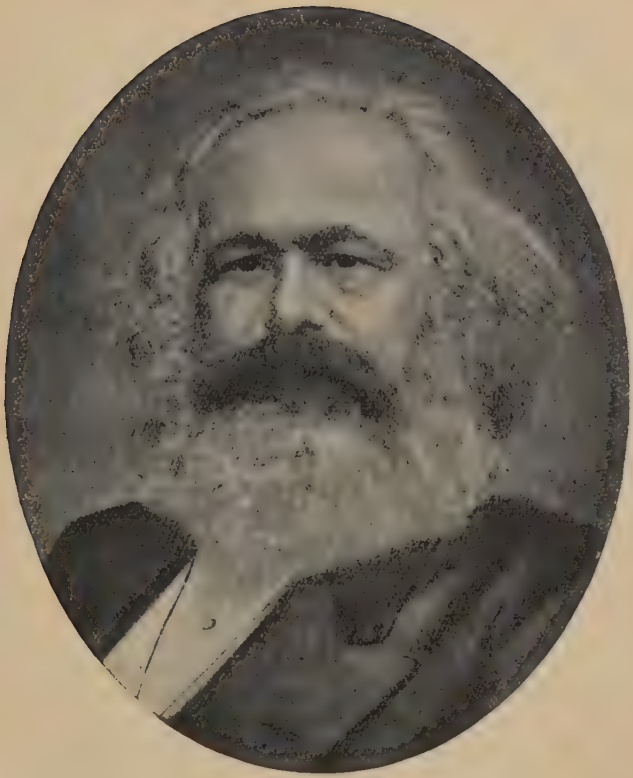
From 'The Looking Glass', 1831, No. 11

came to an end in 1852. When in 1862 an International Exhibition was held in London, a deputation of French workmen visited it, with the encouragement of the Emperor Napoleon. This visit restarted an international movement of working men. In 1864 a public meeting, attended by workmen of different countries, as well as by Marx, was held at the St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London. An English professor, Edward S. Beesly, Professor of History at University College, London, was in the chair. A result of the meeting was the appointing of a committee which drafted a constitution and statutes for an international association of working men (usually called simply the 'International'). The theory expressed in this constitution was the same as that of the Communist Manifesto, which had said:

> The history of all society is the history of the class-war. . . . The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all lands, unite!

It was just about this time that the British Labour Party was beginning, although there were no Labour Members in Parliament until 1874. The British Labour Party had no connexion or sympathy with the 'International' until about the year 1890, when Keir Hardie gained some influence in the party. The International was mainly a foreign affair. It was a league of workmen's societies. Any trade union or similar body could join it. It had a General Council which sat in London, and a General Secretary and Treasurer, each of whom had to be an Englishman; but any nation was represented on the General Council by a Secretary of its own. Foreigners, in spite of the 'English' constitution, dominated the International.

The first Congress of the International was held at Geneva in 1866. The chief policy which it advocated was the reduction of the working day to eight hours. The next meeting, held at Lausanne in 1867, passed a resolution that the means of transport and communication should be made the property of the State. The third meeting took place at Brussels in 1868, and resolved that land as well as the means of transport and communication should become public property, and should be given over for exploitation to associations of workers. The meeting also



Karl Marx

repudiated 'all appropriation by Capital of interest, rent or profit'. The fourth Congress took place at Bâle in 1869.

In this and the three following years certain events occurred which brought the International (subsequently known as the First International) to grief. The first blow came from the union of Bakhunin and his society of anarchists with it (1869). Many of the old members of the International objected to the doctrines of the anarchists.

Secondly, when Germany and France went to war in 1870, the French and German members of the International, cosmopolitan in spirit though they were supposed to be, found that their sympathies were bitterly opposed to each other on patriotic grounds.

Thirdly, after the Franco-German War of 1870–1, the terrible rising of the Commune took place in Paris; and when the Government of the Third French Republic steadily opposed and finally triumphed over the Commune the blow was felt by the International. For although the Commune and the International were not connected officially, there was close sympathy between them.

In 1872 the International resumed its meetings which the war had interrupted. But the Congress which met at The Hague in that year was split by disputes between the Anarchists and the Communists. The General Council was removed from England to New York, but the International by this time seems to have been practically dead. Its last Congress took place at Geneva in 1873.

The Socialist Movement of the nineteenth century had more influence in domestic than in international affairs: although in neither was it of primary importance in Europe before the Great War. It was in Germany that the Socialist Movement was most highly organized. After Marx (who lived very little in Germany) the chief founder of the Socialists was Ferdinand Lassalle.

This man, like Marx, of Jewish extraction, was born at Breslau in 1825. His father was a prosperous merchant, able to give his son the best education that Western Europe provided. The young Lassalle went to the University at Breslau and at Berlin.

He travelled a little, and at Paris made the acquaintance of Heine (1799–1856), one of the poets of revolution. Lassalle himself took part in the Revolution of 1848, which broke forth (unsuccessfully) in many parts of Germany as well as in France. It was in Düsseldorf that Lassalle joined in the Revolution against the Prussian Government; he paid for this with six months in prison.

The next ten or twelve years he spent mainly in literary work in Berlin. He watched the long-drawn-out effort of the Prussian Liberals to introduce Constitutionalism into the Prussian Government. He witnessed their gradual defeat, their conquest by the *Junkers*, the squirearchy of Prussia. By the year 1862 Bismarck, the new Minister-President of Prussia, had assured his ascendancy; Prussian Liberalism was now a spent force. It was at this point that Lassalle vigorously entered the field, and, in time, created a new political party, the Social Democrats. Hitherto the workmen of Germany had looked to the Liberals for leadership. Lassalle in an *Open Letter* to the workmen urged them to sever themselves from the Liberals, and he sketched a programme for a new party. The result was the foundation of the Universal German Workingmen's Association. Its immediate object was to agitate for universal suffrage in Germany. Before the movement could make much progress Lassalle was dead. He died after a duel fought on 29 August 1864, at Carouge, a suburb of Geneva. The Workingmen's Association later became the great Social Democratic Party. Its chief newspaper is the well-known journal *Vorwärts*. Its ablest leader, after Lassalle, was Georg Ebert, a saddler, who rose to be the first President of the German Republic in 1919.

The Social Democrats were not Communist. They advocated the cause of universal suffrage, parliamentary government, and the national ownership of 'public utilities', such as railways, electricity establishments, and coal-mines. Several of their plans were put into effect by Bismarck and the Prussian Conservatives, who nationalized the railways and established systems of old-age pensions and workmen's insurance. On the foreign policy of the Imperial German Government the Social Democrats had no effect at all.

The leader of the French Socialists towards the end of the nineteenth century was Jean Jaurès, who was born in 1859. He was educated at the famous Lycée Louis-le-Grand at Paris, and then went to the École Normale Supérieure, where the best French teachers are trained. In 1881 he became a school-teacher at Albi, and two years later was made Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of Toulouse. He found time also to edit a newspaper, the *Petite République*, and was a member of the Chamber of Deputies. In 1904 he founded the journal *L'Humanité*, which became the leading organ of French Socialism.

The chief ability of Jaurès was in making the various groups of French Socialists work together almost as one party. He was one of the defenders of Dreyfus and he helped in the rise of the Socialist politician Alexandre Millerand, who later became President of the French Republic. Jaurès in the last years of his life was one of the leading figures in the movement for peace and disarmament. He was assassinated on 31 July 1914.

Supplementary Dates.

XXI

1845 Marx expelled from Paris.
1865 Death of Proudhon.
1866 Dostoievsky's *Crime and Punishment.*
1867 *Das Kapital* of Karl Marx.
1874 First Labour Members in British Parliament.
1876 Death of Bakhunin.

XXII

THE UNION OF GERMANY

'EUROPE remains the heart of the world, while we, who know that world, may safely prophesy that so it will always be.'[1] So wrote the eminent German professor and publicist, Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-96), in 1875. His remark was at any rate true with regard to the nineteenth century. Europe was the heart of the world. In the old continent occurred three things which have since vitally influenced the whole human race: first, the Industrial Revolution (with its resultant contests between Individualism and Socialism);[2] secondly, the union of Italy; thirdly, the union of Germany.

The Germanic Confederation which was established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 was in many respects merely a continuation of the Holy Roman Empire, or 'Empire of Germany', as it was called in the eighteenth century. This Federal Constitution left to the individual States practically complete independence; it allowed each to develop along its own characteristic and natural lines; at the same time, in the Federal Diet, it acknowledged the national unity of the German people. The only real defect was that the Federal Constitution was not sufficiently strong to curb the ambition of Prussia. In the fifteen years after the re-establishing of the Confederation in 1852 (see above, p. 640) Prussia ejected Austria, smashed the Federal Constitution, and put a new military Empire in its place under Prussian domination. The old Confederation was better.

Prussia in 1849 had been offered the headship of a Constitutional Empire (which was to replace the old Confederation) by the Frankfort Parliament. She had refused it. In 1850 she had tried to assert headship on her own account as against Austria,

[1] *Politik* (Trans. 1916), ii. 577. This work consists of lectures delivered between 1875 and 1895.

[2] For the Socialist Movement, see above, pp. 659–66. For Italy, see pp. 650–8.

but had flinched before the wager of battle and so had retreated and abandoned her claim at Olmütz (29 November 1850). After this Prussia subsided for a few years, until (under Bismarck's guidance) she felt strong enough to challenge Austria again. This last time was fatal for the freedom of Germany.

The friction between Prussia and Austria came to a head over the Schleswig-Holstein affair, although the causes of the friction lay much deeper. The King of Denmark was Duke of Schleswig and of Holstein. Schleswig was not within the Germanic Confederation, but Holstein was, so that the Diet of the Confederation had some interest in the fate of the Duchies. Moreover, in Holstein and in Southern Schleswig the population was predominantly Danish.

The critical year 1848 found a nationalist Danish movement in full career in Denmark, just as there was a nationalist German movement in Germany, and in Holstein and Southern Schleswig. The Danish movement resulted in the issue by Frederick VII of Denmark of a proclamation, making one common constitution for the Duchies and his Kingdom. This proclamation was answered by war on the part of the nationalist Frankfort Parliament (1849). The Federal troops which invaded Holstein were chiefly Prussian. In 1850, however, the efforts of the British, Russian and Swedish Governments brought about peace with Prussia. Two years later, 8th May 1852, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden by treaty acknowledged the integrity of all the Danish dominions.

In 1855 the Danish Government put into force the common constitution for the Duchies and the Kingdom. In 1863 it separated Holstein off from Schleswig by giving Holstein a constitution of its own.

By these inconsistent acts the Danish Crown broke two undertakings which it had previously made: (1) not to incorporate the Duchies in the Kingdom, (2) not to separate one Duchy from the other. There is no doubt that the Danish Crown had placed itself in the wrong in the eyes of Europe. This fact may justify the intervention of the German Powers to redress the grievances of the Duchies; but it cannot justify the annexation of the

Duchies by German Powers, contrary to their undertaking by the Treaty of 1852 to respect the integrity of the Danish Dominions.

On the 16th January 1864, after there had been tremendous agitations in Germany over the grievances of the Germanic Holsteiners and Schleswigers, the Prussian and Austrian Governments sent an ultimatum to Copenhagen. Christian IX (who had succeeded Frederick VII as King of Denmark in 1863) was

to withdraw the common constitution for his dominions within forty-eight hours. On the refusal of the Danish Government, Prussian and Austrian troops invaded Holstein. The energetic defence made by the small Danish army was doomed to failure. The war ended with the Treaty of Vienna, 1st August 1864. Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg (a Duchy on the Elbe which Denmark had acquired by exchange from Prussia in 1815) were annexed by Austria and Prussia jointly.

This act was a very serious assault on the European system. The British and French Governments strongly objected to it, but they were unable to agree on any plan for intervention. Their inaction was fatal. Having allowed a breach to be made in the

European system at the expense of Denmark, which was a small State, they had within the next two years to look on helplessly while the system, so far as Central Europe was concerned, was literally smashed to pieces.

Otto von Bismarck, a Brandenburg squire who had risen high in the Prussian civil service, had been chief Minister of Prussia since 1862. He conceived the plan of breaking up the Germanic Confederation and substituting in its place an Empire, with Prussia at its head. The plan was really more daring and fantastic than Cavour's scheme for uniting Italy by means of the little Kingdom of Sardinia. Bismarck, like Cavour, pursued his aim with consummate skill; but he could not have succeeded without great luck: for he took tremendous risks. At any moment a little firmness from England or France, or even a little opposition from the Liberal Party of Prussia, might have ruined his scheme. But the British foreign policy was feebly directed by Palmerston and Lord Russell in 1865 and 1866; while the French Government in these years had its best troops locked up in a futile expedition in Mexico. In Prussia the National Liberals were captivated by the glamour of the Prussian army since the successful war against Denmark in 1864.

In the Danish War of 1864 Prussia and Austria had acted as partners. Austria was still the nominal head of the Germanic Confederation. The next step in the rise of Prussia towards an Imperial position was to expel Austria from this Confederation. The first annexation of the Danish Duchies obviously would not last. In 1865, by the Convention of Gastein (14 August 1865), the Prussian and Austrian Governments, while preserving in theory their 'condominium', agreed to share out the administration. Austria was to administer Holstein, and Prussia Schleswig. Prussia also acquired the Austrian 'rights' over Lauenburg for 2,500,000 Danish rix-dollars. This agreement, said Bismarck, 'papered over the cracks', but not for long. In 1866 the friction between the two great Germanic Powers issued in open war. For years anybody could have foreseen that they would some day fight for the supremacy of Germany. But the speed with which the Prussians began and finished off the war

in one campaign took all Europe by surprise. Napoleon III had, it is true, some thoughts of intervention, but when the battle of Sadowa (or Königgrätz, 3 July 1866) occurred, and the war was practically ended, he had no plan ready. The battle, which was one of the Prussian Marshal von Moltke's masterpieces, took place in Bohemia less than three weeks after the campaign had opened.

Sadowa was a complete defeat for the Austrian army: and if the Prussians had pressed onward it would have enabled them to take Vienna. At this point Bismarck showed how he used war merely as an instrument of policy. While the generals were all for going on, he advised King William, and firmly stood by his advice, to offer peace. Bismarck's plan was to use the victory in order to expel Austria from the Confederation, but not to humiliate her farther: rather to treat Austria generously, so as not to provoke a war of revenge in the future. His plan, with the help of the amiable Crown Prince Frederick, prevailed. An armistice was arranged, and later, on the 23rd August (1866), the Treaty of Prague was concluded. The 'Seven Weeks War' was at an end. It had three results. Firstly, Austria ceded her rights over the Danish Duchies to Prussia, which therefore annexed Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg outright. Secondly, the Germanic Confederation was declared to be dissolved. Thirdly, Austria assented to the creation of a new Confederation, north of the river Main, under the headship of Prussia.

The War of 1866 practically gave to Prussia the Empire of Germany, although the word 'empire' was not used. There was a North German Confederation, of which the King of Prussia was President. Austria, Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg were outside the Confederation; but while Austria remained out of it, the other South German States almost at once connected themselves with it by treaties of alliance. Prussia was now dominant in Germany by being head of the Confederation, by being the organizer of the Zollverein, and also by the sheer weight of her territories; for through the war of 1866 Prussia annexed not merely the Danish Duchies but also the Kingdom of Hanover, which had fought on the Austrian side and had been overwhelmed

at the battle of Langensalza (27 June 1866). Thus Prussian territory now extended continuously from the Niemen to the frontier of Holland.

The dissolution of the old Germanic Confederation, the expulsion of Austria from Germany, the headship of Prussia in the North German Confederation, and the annexation of Hanover destroyed the balance of power in Central Europe. It gave Prussia a position of predominance, not merely in Germany, but even in Europe, and is largely accountable for the *malaise*, the crises, the agitation in international relations, which were features of European history in the next fifty years. The other European Powers ought to have insisted that the Germanic Confederation, which depended upon the European Treaty of Vienna (1815), should not have been amended or changed into anything else without their consent and co-operation.

The last step towards the union of Germany (all the States except Austria) in a Prussian Empire was taken at the close of the successful war against France. Without this war it is almost certain that the union would not have come about, for the German sovereigns, especially the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, were unwilling, without great inducement, to allow the King of Prussia to be made Emperor over them. Bismarck felt fairly sure that war would come, although he did not actually work to bring it about. 'I took it for assured', he wrote later in his memoirs, 'that war with France would necessarily have to be waged on the road to our further national development, for our development at home as well as the extension beyond the Main.' [1]

The occasion over which the Franco-German War broke out was the Hohenzollern candidature for the Spanish throne. In 1868 Queen Isabella of Spain, who was always unpopular, had to flee from her country. For nearly two years the Government of Spain sought for another sovereign; at last, early in 1870, they invited Leopold, a son of Prince Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, to become king. Sigmaringen was a small principality in South Germany, ruled by the elder though less celebrated

[1] Bismarck, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, Chap. XXI, near the beginning.

branch of the Hohenzollern family. Prince Anton accepted the offer of the Spanish throne for his son. As soon as this became known the French Government vigorously protested, saying that for a Hohenzollern prince to become King of Spain would be to revive the Empire of Charles V. Then the French Government instructed Count Benedetti, its ambassador to Prussia, to demand from the King of Prussia the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidature.

It was not exactly the affair of King William of Prussia; the decision lay with his relative, Prince Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. But the French Government was right in thinking that if King William advised the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidature, Prince Anton would agree.

M. Benedetti had three interviews at Bad Ems with King William on this subject. At the first interview on the 9th July, King William agreed to consider the French Government's request. At the next interview (11 July) the King was still more compliant; he had actually on the previous day sent a message to Sigmaringen advising withdrawal. Next day it became known that Prince Anton had revoked the acceptance of the Spanish throne for his son.

Then the French Government took the fatal step. Instead of resting content with this satisfactory ending (which was a real diplomatic victory for France), the Duc de Gramont, Napoleon III's Minister for Foreign Affairs, demanded a promise from the King of Prussia that a Hohenzollern candidature for Spain *would never be renewed*. When Benedetti (who was acting under peremptory orders) made this quite unnecessary demand at an interview on the 13th July, King William somewhat sternly, but quite politely, refused. The French Government, in a Council held on the 15th July, decided to stand by the demand, knowing that to insist upon it meant war.

Thus war was almost certain when a telegram from King William telling about the negotiations with Benedetti at Ems reached Bismarck at Berlin. Bismarck was having dinner with Generals von Moltke and von Roon when the telegram came in. At first, when read aloud, the telegram seemed to show that the

King was showing so much consideration to the French demands that war would be avoided. The two soldiers ' turned away from food and drink '. But Bismarck saw a way to make the war inevitable.

He resolved to publish the King's message (this in itself was rather a provocative act), and to publish it in a shorter and curter form than that in which he had received it. The message as published was not only reduced in size, it was actually different in wording. It ended : ' His Majesty the King therefore decided not to receive the French Ambassador again, and sent to tell him through the aide-de-camp on duty that His Majesty had nothing further to communicate to the ambassador.' When Bismarck read it aloud to his two guests they said : ' Now it has a different ring : it sounded before like a parley ; now it is like a flourish in answer to a challenge.' [1] French opinion, when the ' telegram ' was published became, not unnaturally, violently incensed. On the 19th July, the French Government declared war.

The war lasted for six months. The States of the North German Confederation were joined by the States of Southern Germany—Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemberg. Austria decided to remain neutral. In the first three months the German armies were highly successful ; in the last three months they sustained some severe shocks. But by the end of the year 1870 Paris was closely beleaguered ; and its fall was only a matter of time. German armies controlled huge areas of France, and German sovereigns, lodging at Versailles, witnessed the triumph of the ' Fatherland '. German, as distinct from local State, patriotism was at its highest ; national fervour thrilled peoples and governments alike. Nevertheless the local German sovereigns, although they had thrown in their fortunes with those of the North German Confederation, were a little averse from seeing the King of Prussia made into their Emperor ; and King William, a level-headed old soldier, was not very anxious himself to take the title. Bismarck managed to persuade him and the Crown Prince Frederick. With difficulty the consent of King Lewis of Bavaria

[1] Bismarck, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, Chap. XXII *ad fin.* See also Mowat, *A History of European Diplomacy*, p. 211.

AT THE GATES!

A 'Punch' cartoon of Bismarck, 1883

By permission of the Proprietors of 'Punch'

was obtained too. At last, on the 18th January 1871, King William was proclaimed German Emperor in the *Galerie des Glaces* in the château of Versailles, the most magnificent chamber in the most splendid palace of the greatest of French kings.

Yet the new Emperor William was not wholly pleased. 'On descending from the raised dais of the princes', says Bismarck, 'he ignored me as I stood alone upon the free space before it, and passed me by in order to shake hands with the generals standing behind me. He maintained that attitude for several days, until gradually our mutual relations returned to their old form.' [1]

[1] Bismarck, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, Chap. XXIII *ad fin.*

Supplementary Dates.

XXII

1856 Death of Schumann.
1861 Dahn's *Kings of the Germans.*
1865 Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*
1870 Mommsen's *Staatsrecht.*

XXIII

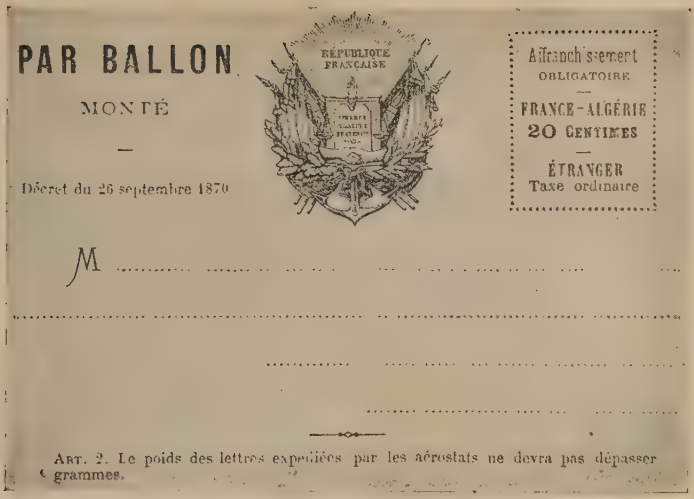
THE FALL OF THE SECOND EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC

Early in August 1870, the German and French armies were in touch along the French eastern frontier. Practically from the first, the Germans, whose arrangements for mobilization had worked smoothly and rapidly, took the initiative and so compelled each French army to conform its movements to theirs. Three armies, whose movements were scientifically co-ordinated by the Commander-in-chief von Moltke, moved against the French frontier in the direction of Metz. The northern wing was commanded by General Steinmetz, who had won the Iron Cross in the war of 1813–14 against Napoleon. The second was commanded by a nephew of the Emperor, the popular Frederick Charles, called the 'Red Prince' because of his red Hussar uniform. The third was commanded by Frederick, Crown Prince, the most liberal and lovable of the Hohenzollerns. An early dash by the French into the Saar country which was Prussian territory was, after one brief success at Saarbrücken, easily defeated. After that misfortunes came thick and fast upon the Second Empire. Marshal Bazaine, who had shown his obstinacy and egotism in the Mexican campaign, let himself be outmanœuvred and cooped up at Metz after fighting the losing battle of Gravelotte (18 August). The Emperor Napoleon with Marshal MacMahon, coming to the assistance of Bazaine, were surrounded as they lay resting among the Ardennes hills at Sedan on the Meuse (2 September). Napoleon himself and the Grand Army were taken off, prisoners, to Germany. The Emperor Napoleon remained at the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, three miles from Cassel, until the conclusion of peace.

Napoleon's wife, the Empress Eugénie, had been left in Paris to act as Regent. It is believed that her insistent messages had brought about some of the rash moves of the French forces, in particular the fatal advance of MacMahon's army from Châlons

to Sedan. When the news of that crushing disaster reached Paris the people rose, and the Empress Eugénie (4 September 1870) fled. She was taken off from the French coast in a private yacht by an English gentleman and came to England. France had now neither Emperor nor Empress-Regent: of her two fine field-armies one was captive, the other was in process of being sealed up in Metz by converging German forces. Thus practically without an army, and wholly without a Government, France had to face the most powerful modern armies which had already penetrated deep into her territory. Yet men were found who did not despair of their country. Emmanuel Arago was 68, Adolphe Crémieux was 74, Glaize-Bizoin was 70, the Admiral Fornichon was 61, Jules Favre was 61. To these must be added the name of Léon Gambetta, a young member of the *Corps Législatif*, aged 32, and another, Jules Ferry, aged 38. Politicians of the Opposition, without experience of conducting Government, either in peace or war, they took hold of the reins. They declared a Provisional 'Government of National Defence' and they resolved to continue the war against the invader. Nevertheless German armies almost at once drew around them. Within three weeks after the fall of the Empire, Paris, the capital, was besieged. The Government of National Defence remained, all except Gambetta, who left Paris in a balloon and got to Tours where he organized a heroic war in the provinces.

This war in the provinces was desperate, but not wholly without prospect of some success. The German Governments eagerly desired a short war; their financial situation would not justify a very prolonged strain; the political atmosphere of Europe was not favourable to them. Bismarck was nervously apprehensive of intervention, diplomatic, if not military, by England, Austria, or Italy. So the prolongation of the war for five months after the battle of Sedan and the fall of the Empire did not suit him at all. Thus the French effort was worth making for political and military reasons. It was worth making too because it restored the French self-respect. Had France given in after Sedan, she would have shown herself to be cowed in spirit as well as beaten in the field. The heroic war in the provinces


PAR BALLON

MONTÉ

Décret du 26 septembre 1870

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

Affranchissement OBLIGATOIRE

FRANCE-ALGÉRIE 20 CENTIMES

ÉTRANGER Taxe ordinaire

M .....

ART. 2. Le poids des lettres expédiées par les aérostats ne devra pas dépasser 4 grammes.

The French air-mail from Paris during the siege

Above, the official letter-card. Below, a letter from a bag which fell into the North Sea and was rescued

By the courtesy of Mrs. A. FitzGerald

Plan of Paris a

Dugny
Etang à Sec
Aunay
Le Bourget
Soissons Railway
la Cour-neuve
Drancy
Bondy
Baulagny
Aubervilliers
Paris and Strassburg Railway
Canal de l'Ourcq
Noisy
Villemomble
Rosny
Romainville
Malassises
Montreuil
Charonne
La Fissotte
Maladerie
Vincennes
Nogent
Le Perreux
Gournay
Chelles
Maisons
Le Bouqueval
Gd Gentilly
Bicêtre
Arcueil
Cachan
Montrouge
Vanves
Issy
Meudon
Sèvres
Clamart
Bagneux
Châtillon
Bourg la Reine
Fontenay aux Roses
Le Plessis Piquet
Le Plessis Robinson
Le Petit Clamart

proved the mettle of the French nation. 'From her material losses', said the ardent General Ducrot, 'France will recover; from her moral losses she would recover never.'

The object of Gambetta, directing affairs from Tours, was to relieve Paris by cutting the German lines of communication. A new national army was created in about six weeks. Under General d'Aurelle de Paladines it defeated von der Tann at Coulmiers (9 November) and occupied Orleans. Had Bazaine played the man at Metz and broken through to assist d'Aurelles the siege of Paris would have had to be abandoned. But Bazaine had already surrendered on the 27th October. D'Aurelle alone could not save Paris, although the garrison there made a valiant sortie to help him.

The rest of the war consisted of a determined defensive campaign of General Chanzy in the neighbourhood of Le Mans; a fine effort made with inferior forces by General Faidherbe towards Amiens and St. Quentin; and a risky, brilliant campaign by General Bourbaki in the south-east, with the object of relieving Belfort. All these generals failed, but they had shown what France, even when almost prostrate, could do. On the 28th January 1871 Jules Favre signed an armistice at German Head-quarters at Versailles, ten days after the German Empire had been proclaimed in the château there. On the 27th February the Preliminary Peace of Versailles was signed.

While the siege of Paris was going on Thiers, an old member of the Parliamentary opposition to Napoleon III, had been touring some of the capitals of Europe—Vienna, Florence, London, Petersburg—trying to enlist the good offices of the Powers on the side of France. He gained nothing, however, except some expressions of sympathy. On the other hand, Thomas Carlyle, the 'Sage of Chelsea', having five years earlier, concluded his great panegyric, the *Life of Frederick the Great*, now intervened dramatically on the side of his dead hero. On the 11th November 1870 he wrote from Chelsea a long letter (eleven pages in his Collected Works) which *The Times* newspaper published, while the eyes of all Europe were fixed on the siege of Paris, and every one was wondering if it could be stopped.

Bivouac of Uhlans in the Champs Élysées, 1871

From 'The Illustrated London News'

Carlyle's message came with all his grand strength of expression to listening Europe:

To the Editor of The Times.

Chelsea, 11 Nov. 1870.

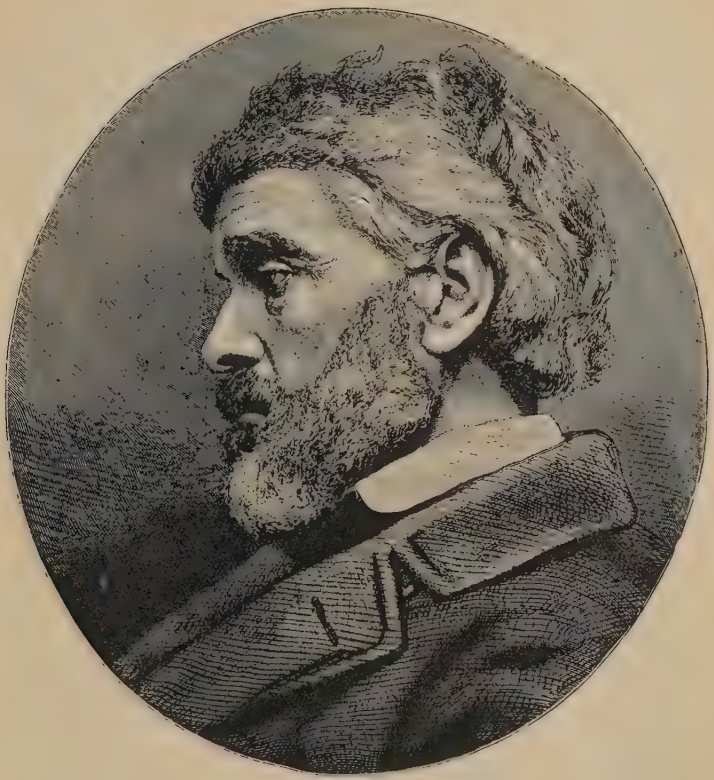
SIR,—It is probably an amiable trait of human nature, this cheap pity and newspaper lamentation over fallen and afflicted France; but it seems to me a very idle, dangerous and misguided feeling as applied to the cession of Alsace and Lorraine by France to her German conquerors; and argues, on the part of England, a most profound ignorance as to the mutual history of France and Germany, and the conduct of France towards that Country for long centuries back. The question for the Germans, in this crisis, is not one of 'magnanimity', of 'heroic pity', and 'forgiveness to a fallen foe', but of solid prudence, and practical consideration what the fallen foe will, in all likelihood, do when once on his feet again.

. . . . . .

For the present I must say, France looks more and more delirious, miserable, blamable, pitiable and even contemptible. She refuses to see the facts that are lying palpably before her face, and the penalties she has brought upon herself. A France scattered into anarchic ruin, without recognisable head; *head,* or chief, indistinguishable from *feet,* or rabble; ministers flying up in balloons ballasted with nothing but outrageous public lies, proclamations of victories that were creatures of the fancy; a Government subsisting altogether on mendacity, willing that horrid bloodshed should continue and increase rather than that *they,* beautiful Republican creatures, should cease to have the guidance of it. I know not when or where there was seen a nation so covering itself with *dis*honour. If, among this multitude of sympathetic bystanders, France have any true friend, his advice to France would be, To abandon all that, and never to resume it more.

. . . . . .

The 'Siege of Paris', which looks like the hugest and most hideous farce-tragedy ever played under this sun, Bismarck evidently hopes will never need to come to uttermost bombardment, to million-fold death by hunger or the kindling of Paris and its carpentries and asphalt streets by shells and red-hot balls into a sea of fire. Diligent, day by day, seem those Prussians, never resting nor too much hasting; well knowing the proverb 'Slow fire makes sweet malt'. I believe Bismarck will get his Alsace and what he wants of Lorraine; and likewise that it will do him, and us, and all the world, and even France itself, by and by, a great deal of good. . . . Bismarck, as I read him, is not a person of 'Napoleonic ideas', but of ideas quite superior to Napoleonic; shows no invincible 'lust of



Thomas Carlyle

From 'The Graphic', 12 February 1881

territory ', nor is tormented with ' vulgar ambition ' &c. ; but has aims very far beyond that sphere ; and, in fact, seems to be striving with strong faculty, by patient, grand and successful steps, towards an object beneficial to Germans and to all other men. That noble, patient, deep, pious and solid Germany should be at length welded into a Nation and become Queen of the Continent, instead of vapouring, vainglorious, gesticulating, quarrelsome and restless and oversensitive France, seems to me the hopefullest public fact that has occurred in my time.

T. CARLYLE.

After the Armistice of the 28th January 1871, but before the Preliminaries of Peace were signed, elections had been held throughout France (8 February) and, as a result, a National Assembly met at Bordeaux. This assembly had to approve of the Preliminary terms of peace which were therefore signed at Versailles on the 26th February. The final peace, which only modified the preliminary terms in minor points, was signed at Frankfort by Jules Favre and Bismarck on the 10th May. On the staircase of the Archives department of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Quai d'Orsay*) there are interesting pictures of the French and Prussian plenipotentiaries (five in number) holding their Peace Conference in a modest drawing-room of the Hotel zum Schwan. The terms of the Versailles and Frankfort treaties were that France should cede to Germany all Alsace except Belfort, and about one-half of Lorraine including Metz ; and that she should pay an indemnity of £200,000,000 (five milliards of francs) within five years ; until payment in full had been made a German army, fed and housed by the French Government, was to occupy the North-East of France.

Between the signing of the Preliminaries of Versailles and the Treaty of Frankfort, the Government of National Defence had to face a terrible rising among its own people. There is in Paris a large class of manual labourers, cheerful and contented as a rule, but opinionated, and occasionally, when aroused, ferocious. These, amid the depression and pessimism caused by the failure of the war, and exasperated by the long drawn-out sufferings of the siege of Paris, were stirred to revolt on the 18th March and proclaimed a ' Commune '. The Government of National Defence, which removed itself from Bordeaux to Versailles, had

to turn its army against its own Capital, and to fight its way, street by street, until it gained control of the city. In the troubles the Tuileries palace and the beautiful Hôtel de Ville were burned. The Commune was suppressed on the 22nd May, and the rebels were severely punished. Many, caught red-handed, were placed against walls and were shot.

The National Assembly, which contained a majority of Royalists, had by the 'Pact of Bordeaux', on the 17th February, elected Thiers to be 'Chief of the Executive Power', without prejudicing any final decision that might have to be taken regarding the Constitution. In August (1871) the title of Thiers' office was changed to President of the French Republic. He was now seventy-four years old. Before he resigned in 1873 he had raised a large loan (which was subscribed fourteen times over) and had paid up the whole indemnity to Germany. Thus France was liberated from the Army of Occupation. After Thiers, Marshal MacMahon was elected President for seven years, by the Law of the Septennate, 20th November 1873. Thiers died at St. Germain-en-Laye on the 3rd September 1877.

The President MacMahon and his Ministry (of which the Duc de Broglie was Premier) and the National Assembly were monarchist in sympathy. The head of the French Royalists was Henri, Comte de Chambord, a grandson of King Charles X. He had no son; the heir to the royal title would be a distant cousin, Louis-Philippe, Comte de Paris, a grandson of King Louis-Philippe. Between the elder branch and the younger (Orleanist) branch there was deep enmity. In August 1873 a meeting was arranged between the Comte de Paris and the Comte de Chambord at Frohsdorf, Chambord's magnificent castle, thirty miles south of Vienna: the two princes were reconciled. The Comte de Paris was to be Dauphin. All that was now necessary for the restoration of the Monarchy was that the Comte de Chambord should declare in favour of a democratic constitution and the tricolour flag. But he dashed all the hopes of the Royalists by publishing a letter (29 October) in which he declared his adherence to the White Flag of the Bourbons. This declaration for the *Drapeau blanc* turned France into a Republic. On the 18th November,

of the same year (1873), the Comte de Chambord paid a secret visit to Versailles, in the hopes that MacMahon would make a *coup d'état* and proclaim him King : but the President, monarchist though he was, was too loyal a soldier to betray his trust. At the end of the Comte de Chambord's visit the Law of the Septennate was passed by the National Assembly.

The Third Republic was now definitely in being. It has no formal, written Constitution, like that of the United States of America ; it depends on five Constitutional Acts voted by the National Assembly. The first is the law of the 25th February 1875, instituting a Legislature of Chamber of Deputies and Senate, reaffirming the Law of the Septennate for a Presidency of seven years ; and ordaining a Responsible Ministry. The other four Laws of the 24th February, 16th July, 2nd August, and the 30th November (1875) define the method of election and the rights of the President, Senate, Chamber of Deputies and their relations towards each other.[1]

France, having paid off the war-indemnities, liberated her territory from the German Army of Occupation, and established the Constitution of the Third Republic, soon regained her eminent position among the Powers of Europe. When the Congress of Berlin met in 1878 to create a new political system for the Balkan territories, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, William Henry Waddington, was one of the leading statesmen present.

[1] Duguit et Monnier, *Les Constitutions et les principales Lois politiques de la France* (Paris, 1915), pp. 319–33.

Supplementary Dates.

XXIII

1871 Zola's *Rougon-Macquart* series.
1872 Daudet's *Tartarin de Tarascon.*
1873 Brahms's *Requiem.*
1875 Taine's *Origines de la France contemporaine.*
1877 Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila.*
1878 Sully-Prudhomme's *La Justice.*

XXIV

THE BALKAN STATES

The Balkan range of mountains extends roughly east and west, through Bulgaria and Northern Serbia, parallel with the river Danube. As a term of political geography 'the Balkans' generally means all the land between the Danube and the Aegean Sea; and it is convenient also (although not technically correct) to include Rumania, north of the Danube, in the phrase 'Balkan States.'

A large part of this area had already come under Turkish sway before the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Within about twenty-five years after that event the whole of the Balkans, excepting the 'Black Mountain' (Montenegro), but including Albania on the Adriatic coast and Bosnia and Herzegovina, were in the hands of the Turks. Only in Thrace, however (between the Balkan Mountains and the Sea of Marmora), did men of actual Turkish blood settle in any great number. Elsewhere in the Balkans the native Christian Greeks and Slavs remained on the soil, with just a sprinkling of Turkish overlords. In Albania, however, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina many of the native inhabitants became converts to Mahommedanism.

The process of freeing the Christian subjects of the Turks was accomplished only very gradually. Indeed for more than two centuries after the fall of Constantinople there appeared to be a danger of Western Europe suffering from the Turk. In 1683 the Sultan Mahommed IV's army besieged and almost captured Vienna; and at that time of danger to Western Europe France was actually in alliance with the Porte. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, however, the Turkish armies began to suffer reverses. In 1699 (Peace of Carlowitz) the Austrians regained most of Hungary and the Venetians gained the Morea. But in 1718 (Peace of Passarowitz) the Morea was again conquered by the Sultan; and in 1739 the Austrians had to retrocede Belgrade, which they had won twenty-one years previously.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the forces of Europe, represented by Russian armies, were beginning to stride forward in earnest.

In 1792 the Russians had extended their power westward, along the north coast of the Black Sea, to the Dniester. In 1812 the Treaty of Bucharest, ending a four years Russo-Turkish War, gave Bessarabia, between the Dniester and the Pruth, to the Tsar. The Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, ending the War in which the Tsar Nicholas I had intervened on the side of the Greeks, transferred the Danube mouths and deltas from Turkey to Russia; this treaty marks the point nearest to Constantinople that Russia has ever attained.

Meanwhile, some of the European races subject to Turkey had been making efforts to liberate themselves. In 1804 an unsuccessful rising had occurred in Serbia under a strong-willed swine-herd Kara George ('Black' George). In 1815 another peasant, Milosh Obrenovitch, succeeded by arms and diplomacy where Kara George had failed. The Sultan agreed that the Serbs should be self-governing, but tributary. Milosh Obrenovitch became the first autonomous Prince. Kara George was murdered in 1817, it is supposed at Milosh's orders.

Milosh abdicated in 1839. Serbia passed through some very troubled years; during some of this time a son of the murdered Kara George became Prince (1842–59). In 1859 the aged Milosh Obrenovitch returned as Prince. He was succeeded by his son Michael in 1860; and Serbia (which had obtained an increase of territory by the Treaty of Paris, 1856) entered upon a period of some prosperity. In 1867 Michael induced the Porte to withdraw the last Turkish garrisons from Serbia.

It was a war in Serbia, combined with a rising against the Turks in Herzegovina, which led to the now celebrated Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 and the Treaty of Berlin the 13th July 1878. By this treaty Serbia gained Nish and Pirot from Turkey, and was acknowledged to be completely independent. In 1882 Prince Milan became King Milan. The Obrenovitch dynasty continued to reign at Belgrade until 1903. On the 10th June of that year King Alexander and Queen Draga were

murdered by conspirators whose object was to set up the Karageorgevitch family. Alexander was the last Obrenovitch. Under his successor, King Peter Karageorgevitch, Serbia greatly prospered, contrary to what was to be expected from the peculiar circumstances of his accession to the throne. Peter I lived through the trials of the Great War and died in August 1921, leaving a kingdom which stretched from the Danube to the Adriatic. The Conference of Paris, 1919, recognized the absorption by Serbia of Montenegro. The union was accomplished after a plebiscite held in Montenegro. Thus disappeared the only Balkan State which had preserved its freedom from the Turks in the dark centuries after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

The political ferment which, during the period of the Napoleonic Wars, stirred the Serbs to seek their freedom had the same result in Greece. But it was not until 1821 that the Greeks began the War of Independence which was to last until 1829. The Bavarian King Otto, who was established on the throne by the Three Powers (Great Britain, Russia, and France) in 1832, was forced to abdicate after thirty years of conscientious administration (1862). His successor, George I, founder of the Glücksburg dynasty, was a son of the King of Denmark. Under George I, a cautious statesman, with the help of Charilaus Trikoupis (1832–96), who was equally cautious and able, the rather passionate politicians of Greece were kept within bounds, and the country made steady progress. Although Greece gained nothing at the Congress of Berlin, she was given Thessaly by Turkey (under pressure of the Three Powers) in 1881; the Balkan wars of 1913 added Crete and Southern Macedonia (including Salonica), and most of the islands off Asia Minor. When King George died, assassinated on the 18th March 1913, the Hellenic Kingdom was in a fair way to become Greater Greece, an empire of the Levant. The Glücksburg dynasty, however, was not popular. The last king, George II, was deposed in 1924, and Greece was proclaimed to be a Republic.

Rumania had always been the most fortunate of the Christian territories subject to the Turks. It consisted of two principalities or provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, each inhabited by the same

race, but each separate in administration from the other. Each principality was ruled by a governor, called a Hospodar, who was appointed by the Porte. The Hospodars were always Christian and were nearly always wealthy 'Phanariot' Greeks from the Phanar quarter of Constantinople. Russia took much interest in the Principalities, and after the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainarji in 1774 regarded itself as their protector. In 1856 the Treaty of Paris, ending the Crimean War, left Wallachia and Moldavia still subject to the sovereignty of the Sultan, but with their privileges guaranteed by the signing Powers. Russia was forced (article 20) to cede to Moldavia a portion of Bessarabia along the Lower Pruth and the northern mouth of the Danube.

There was now a vigorous national movement both in Wallachia and Moldavia. Not being recognized by the Powers as a united State the two Principalities found an ingenious way to become practically one. In 1858 a constitution arranged for them by the Powers permitted the Assembly of each Principality to elect its own Hospodar. In 1859 they elected the same man, Colonel Couza, a Moldavian.

Couza reigned as a beneficent despot until 1866 when a *coup d'état*, which was directed as much against his bad private life as against his despotism, drove him into exile. A prince of royal blood was invited to ascend the throne of the united principalities, by this time known as Rumania. This was Charles, younger son of Prince Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. He came secretly to Bucharest, and the Rumanian revolution, which was not popular with the Western Powers, became a *fait accompli*.

Prince Charles's successful rule as Prince of Rumania gradually won the approval of all the Governments of Europe. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 his soldiers fought on the Russian side; and Prince Charles himself was made Commander-in-Chief of the Russo-Rumanian forces which besieged and captured Plevna. The Treaty of Berlin, however, gave him no satisfaction; for although he gained the Dobrudja (south of the Danube Mouths) from Turkey, he had to retrocede to his ally, Russia, the portion of Bessarabia which had been added to Moldavia in 1856. This 'Rift of Bessarabia', as the Rumanians magniloquently called it,

was a sore grievance for many years. But some consolation came from the clause of the Berlin Treaty (art. 20) which declared Rumania to be independent of Turkey. In 1881 Prince Charles assumed the dignity of king.

It is impossible to write or think about the Balkan States without bringing in the Treaty of Berlin, just as it is impossible to discuss the international system of Central and Western Europe without alluding to the Treaty of Vienna. The difference between the times of enactment of these two political instruments, the Vienna Treaty of 1815, the Berlin Treaty of 1878, marks the difference in degree of political progress between Central and Western Europe on the one hand and the Balkans on the other. It was in 1878 that the whole Balkan peoples took a definite place in the international system of Europe; and the Treaty of Berlin, torn, patched, amended though it be, remains the great charter of the non-Turkish peoples of the south-east.

The Berlin Treaty came at the end of one of the many wars of Russia against Turkey. This war itself occurred as the result of friction, tension, and rebellion within the Balkan area. The peasants of Turkey-in-Europe, living from hand to mouth on their poorly cultivated land, had a special plague in the tax-gatherers, whose methods of collecting revenue were really methods of extortion. Early in 1875, after a bad harvest in the previous autumn, Herzegovinian cultivators had to see their sheaves of corn rotting on the ground, because the tax-gatherers had not yet come round to measure the grain. The usual, frequent, sporadic sort of rebellion ensued; gradually the fire of insurrection spread. Montenegrin bands gave help; the Austrian Government seemed not unfavourable. Further east, and south of the Danube where the long-forgotten name of Bulgaria was being revived, peasant bands joined in the revolt. The massacre of some 1,203 Bulgarians at Batak, after they had surrendered on conditions to the Bashi-Bazouk soldiery, directed the attention of all Europe to the insurrectionists' grievances, May 1876. Gladstone wrote his pamphlet, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, and expressed the thoughts of many people when he lashed the Turks: 'Their Zaptiehs, and their Mudirs, their

Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned.'

Except in Russia, where the opinion of the Government favoured a policy of armed intervention, most European statesmen worked for a peaceful solution. In Great Britain the Prime Minister, Disraeli, did not share Gladstone's feelings against the Turks; in Austria the Chancellor, Andrassy, had his own scheme for reforming peacefully the Turkish administrative methods. In Germany Bismarck held the opinion which he expressed two years later when he said: 'The Eastern Question is not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier.' France and Italy were not unfriendly to Turkey.

Alexander II of Russia, however, felt deeply the wrongs of his co-religionists in Bulgaria. He recognized, too, a historic mission on the part of Russia against Turkey. The time seemed ripe now for reversing the verdict of the Crimean War. For years after the Treaty of Paris of 1856 the Tsar's Government had maintained a policy of quiet, internal development at home: 'Russia is not sulking; she is recuperating,' her Chancellor, Prince Gortchakoff, had said (*La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille*). In 1863 she had met and suppressed a dangerous insurrection in Poland, and had found the Prussian Government (which had refractory Polish subjects) very sympathetic. In 1870 with the Prussian Government's approval (which was not given for nothing) she had repudiated that clause in the Treaty of Paris which prevented her from keeping a fleet in the Black Sea or fortifications on its coasts. The Bosphorus and Dardanelles were still closed to Russian (and to all non-Turkish) warships; but with a Russian fleet in the Black Sea, Russian armies in Bessarabia, a strong friend of Russia in Rumania, and an insurrection blazing in Turkey, the next step—to take Constantinople itself—seemed likely to be easy. In April 1877 the Tsar made war upon the Porte.

The war was not at first successful for the Russians. Rumania gave the Tsar's armies a safe way by land; the Turkish warships commanded the Black Sea. The Danube was successfully

crossed at Nikopol. General Gourko seized the Shipka Pass and opened the way through the Balkans; but the town Plevna, an important road-centre (or rather track-centre) between the Danube and the Balkan mountains, kept a Russo-Rumanian army stationary before it for four and a half months (20 July–10 December 1897). At last, however, the sheer weight of the Russian armies and their scientific resources bore down the opposition of the Turks; and on the 31st January 1878 an armistice was dictated by the Grand Duke Nicholas at Adrianople. Co-operation by the forces of Serbia, which had also joined in the war, greatly contributed to this result. The Treaty of Peace was made at San Stefano, near Constantinople, on the 3rd March.

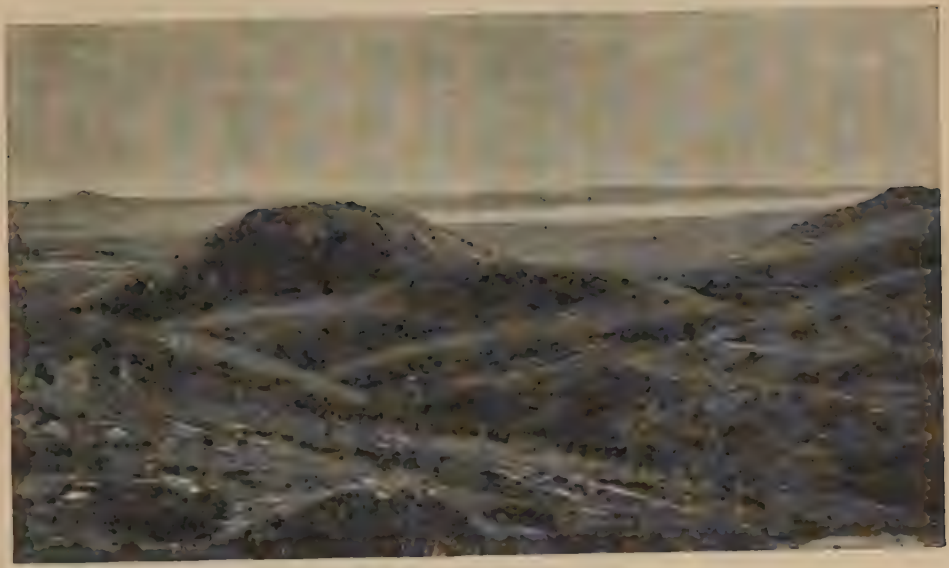
The Treaty of San Stefano created a new State, Bulgaria, 'an autonomous Principality with a Christian Government and a national militia'. This State was to comprise not merely the territory between the Danube and the Balkan mountains, but also the large area south of the Balkans, known later as Eastern Rumelia, including Philippopolis but not Adrianople. On the east its frontier was to be the Black Sea, on the south the Aegean (but not including Salonica), on the west the Albanian mountains and the river Black Drin. Montenegro and Serbia were to be made entirely independent of the Porte and were to have their frontiers very greatly extended. Russia was to receive from Turkey a war-indemnity and also accessions of territory in Europe and Asia Minor. Turkey in Europe would be left with practically only Thrace, Thessaly, and Albania.

When the Treaty of San Stefano was concluded the Great Powers stood regarding the Eastern Question, as they had done in 1853, at a parting of the ways. The decision which they had to face on both occasions was this: Should they acquiesce in a Russo-Turkish arrangement which would ultimately ensure that the Turkish State should leave Europe, and leave it only to make way for the Russians at Constantinople? For the Treaty of San Stefano, with its 'Big Bulgaria', a State of wholly inexperienced peasants, created and protected by Russia, would have placed the Balkan region for the time being under the control of the Tsar, and by tremendously reducing the power of the Turkish

State could have made its final overthrow at the hands of the Russians practically inevitable.

The British Cabinet, under the premiership of Disraeli, and strongly supported by Queen Victoria, decided that the Treaty of San Stefano must be greatly modified. To support this demand the Army was partly mobilized, the Fleet sent to Besika Bay. If the Russian Government insisted upon carrying into effect the Treaty of San Stefano war with Great Britain (with probably Austria and certainly Turkey on the British side) was absolutely sure to follow. So, rather than risk a European war, the Russian Government agreed to make a compromise. By a Convention signed with the British Government on the 30th May Russia agreed to abandon the extreme San Stefano clauses. In particular, the new State of Bulgaria was to extend only from the Danube to the Balkan mountains. War between the Great Powers having been thus averted, it was arranged that a European Congress should meet at Berlin to amend the Treaty of San Stefano and to make whatever political arrangements were necessary in the Balkan region as a result of the Russo-Turkish War. The Congress of Berlin, in which the chief men were Disraeli (made Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876), Lord Salisbury, Bismarck, Andrassy, Gortchakoff, and Waddington (for France), was in session from the 13th June to the 13th July. The result of its deliberations was the Treaty of Berlin, signed on the 13th July.

This treaty, based upon but widely differing from the Treaty of San Stefano, became, as it were, the written constitution of the political system of the Balkans. Article 1 stated that Bulgaria was an autonomous State under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Its southern boundary was to be the Balkan mountains: the debated country beyond, which the Treaty of San Stefano had assigned to it, was to be a separate, autonomous province with a Christian Governor appointed by and dependent on the Porte (art. 13). Montenegro and Serbia were recognized as completely independent, and their territories were increased at the expense of Turkey, although not to the same extent as the Treaty of San Stefano had guaranteed. Rumania also became independent in international law, but it profited nothing in territory, for if it



The Macedonian Plains

gained the sandy Dobrudja from Turkey (with a fairly good port, Constanza), it lost its strip of Bessarabia to Russia.

The Treaty of Berlin regulated social and political affairs by stipulating with regard to all the Balkan States (except Greece, which did not figure in the treaty), and to Turkey (art. 62) that nobody should suffer diminution of rights or status on account of his race or religion. Administrative reforms, according to a plan called the Organic Law of 1868, were promised by the Porte on behalf of Crete, and (the Treaty continued) 'similar laws shall be introduced into the other parts of Turkey in Europe' (art. 23). The effort to obtain the execution of this stipulation taxed all the patience of the Powers from 1878 to 1912 and eventually produced the Balkan War of that year.

By article 25 of the Berlin Treaty Austria obtained the right to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, subject to the maintenance of the sovereignty of the Sultan in those provinces. Russia obtained from Turkey a war-indemnity, and Batoum, Ardahan, and Kars in Asia Minor, as well as the Bessarabian strip from Rumania. Great Britain had already, by a previous Convention (4 June 1878), obtained from Turkey the right to occupy and administer Cyprus. Bismarck had at the Congress suggested to Beaconsfield that Great Britain should take Egypt too, but the idea was not followed up. The only Balkan State that received nothing was Greece, which had only abstained from joining with the other Balkan States in the war against Turkey on the advice of the British Government and other interested Powers. But Greece's moderation was rewarded three years later when the British Government induced the Turks to hand over Thessaly to King George I (24 May 1881).

After the Berlin Settlement the Balkan States (although not Macedonia) entered upon a period of thirty years of stability and comparative prosperity.

Supplementary Dates.

XXIV

1803 Korais's *Present Condition of Civilisation in Greece.*
1812 Leake's *Researches in Greece.*

XXV

THE NEW WORLD AND THE OLD

§ 1. *The Society of the Civilized World*

As the nineteenth century grew older the different political sections of the world came more and more into touch. In previous ages the world, regarded as a society or system of States, had not made continuous progress. When the ancient Roman Empire was at its height in the century after Augustus, the greater part of western, central, and south-eastern Europe, as well as Asia Minor and North Africa, had all been under one dominion. Even Central Asia had City-States of the Greek type, with some European culture. In the early Middle Ages, however, the society of States shrank terribly. In the time of Charlemagne Europe was, intellectually and politically, completely cut off from Asia and Africa. Obscure tribal movements from Central Asia reverberated upon Europe, but the Hun, the Mongol, the Tartar, and even the great Mahommedan movement from Arabia scarcely brought Europe and Asia into real touch. The Crusades did something to extend the society of States to both sides of the Mediterranean, but the torrential advance first of the Seljuk, later of the Ottoman Turks, threw back the European peoples upon themselves. When modern history opens with the Renaissance at the end of the fifteenth century there was no society of States outside Western and Central Europe.

At this very time, however, when the Turks were completing their conquest of south-eastern Europe, and were stopping the land-routes into Asia, a new way to the East was being found over the ocean, and a new world itself was being discovered over the Western Seas.

When the Portuguese sailor, Vasco da Gama, in 1498 anchored his ships in the roads of Calicut he brought Europe and the East together again. In 1526, by the battle of Panipat, the Mogul, Baber, established his empire over Afghan and Hindu ; and thus

there was created an organized Power in India to which the European States could send ambassadors, and which European travellers and traders could visit. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries certain of the States of Europe contended with each other and with Indian rulers for dominion in India. In the end supremacy fell to the British in India, but to the Dutch in the East India Islands.

While European States were contending for the Indies, in the New World called America settlers from Europe were creating new nations. In North America French and English struggled against each other. The wars of the eighteenth century decided that the civilization of the north should be English. In Central and South America, with the exception of Brazil, Spanish culture prevailed. Gradually over the American Continent independent States were created. In the far north Canada was a member of the British Empire, but the greater part of the fertile area of North America was the independent Federation of the United States, as organized by the Constitution of 1787. In Central and South America the old Spanish and Portuguese colonies became States: Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica in 1821, the South American States about the same date or a little earlier (see p. 408).

The creation of independent States on the American Continent was, from one point of view, a step backwards: that is to say, it severed the political ties between Europe and the New World, and only increased the already existing international anarchy. This tendency for the political world to split up into water-tight compartments seemed to be confirmed when the 'Monroe Doctrine' of 1823 was announced, and when the Doctrine became, through use and wont, almost a part of the Law of Nations. Nevertheless, although the immediate result of the creation of independent States in the two Americas seemed to be to cut off the Old World and the New more effectively than ever from each other, yet the ultimate result was to bring them closer together. For the enormous and rapid development of European culture in the independent States of the Americas, the enormous inflow of European settlers, and the back-surge of Americans (diplo-

Immigration today. Ellis Island, outside New York, where immigrants undergo examination and quarantine

matists, traders, students, travellers) upon Europe has linked old Europe with the New World again, far more potently than ever under the old colonial dominions.

§ 2. *The United States of America*

The question of fixing the frontier between Canada and the United States troubled Anglo-American relations intermittently for more than half a century after the recognition of the independence of the United States in 1783. The frontier of 1783 passed through the Lakes Huron, Ontario, and Superior from east to west. In 1818 the Convention of London extended this line westwards along the 49th parallel of latitude to the Rocky Mountains. Further than that the frontier was not drawn, because there were no white settlers to the west of the Rockies. Gradually, however, the westward movement of the people of the United States set in, and soon the Government put forward a claim to all the land between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. This claim, if admitted, would have given the territory now called British Columbia in addition to the land now known as the States Oregon, Washington, and Idaho to the United States. The British Government on the other hand claimed Oregon chiefly on account of the discoveries of Captain Cook in 1775. Actually from 1818 until 1846 Oregon, by agreement, was jointly occupied by the representatives of the British and United States Governments. On the 15th July 1846 the Treaty of Washington between the two Governments put an end to the joint administration, and instead continued the 1818 frontier over the Rocky Mountains along the 49th parallel to the middle of the channel which divides the continent from Vancouver Island: here the frontier bent south to include Vancouver on the British side. This Treaty, which averted an otherwise certain war between Great Britain and the United States, was a fair settlement, in which the British Government acted generously and gave its competitor the 'benefit of the doubt'.

The next trouble which confronted the United States was a purely domestic affair, but it was so acute that for a time it

split the Union into two. Negro slavery was a recognized institution in North America, coming down from early colonial days. Since 1808 no more slaves could be legally imported. In the cold or temperate Northern States there was never much slavery, but in the Southern cotton-growing and rice-growing States it was the basis of their economy. The geographical division between the Free and the Slave-holding States was represented, roughly, by 'Mason and Dixon's Line', an old frontier starting on the Atlantic coast at a point between Maryland and Delaware, and thence running westwards. Mason and Dixon were two British engineers who surveyed their line at the orders of the British Government between 1764 and 1767.

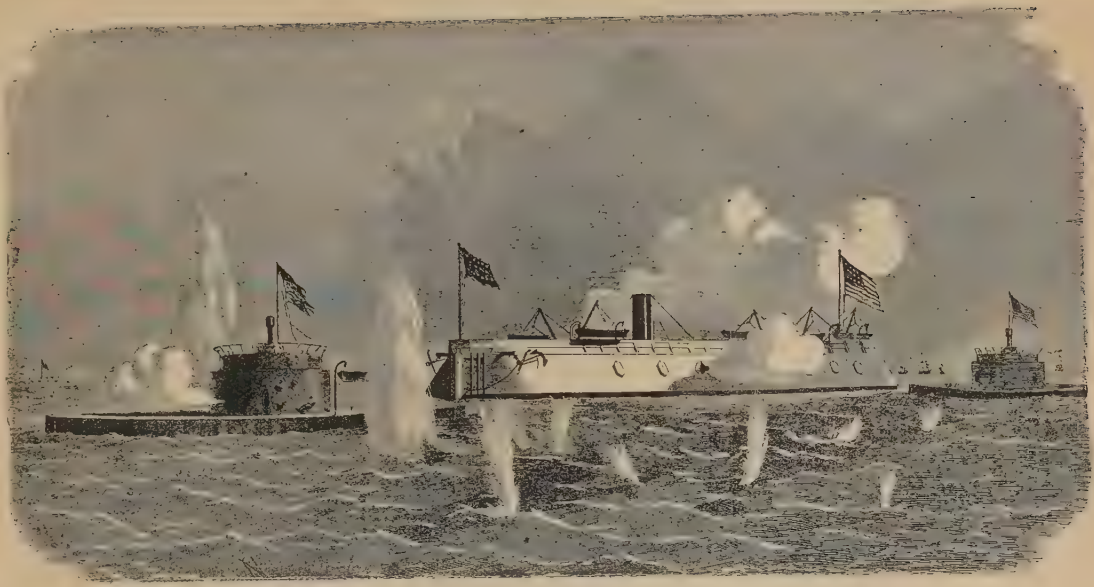
From the early years of the nineteenth century there was in the Northern States agitation against the existence of slavery in the Union. In 1854 the controversy became more acute than ever before. Two definite political parties took shape, dividing the whole people of the United States. Those who were against slavery took the name of President Jefferson's old party, the Republicans; while those who supported slavery called themselves Democrats. The Republicans, being chiefly men of the manufacturing States of the North, were in favour of Protection in addition to their opposition to slavery; while the Democrats of the cotton-exporting States, having no manufactures to protect, and wishing to encourage other countries to buy their cotton, were in favour of Free Trade as well as slavery. The division of the people of the United States into these two parties still continues. They are no longer divided from each other on the question of slavery, but the Democrats still retain their strength in the South and the Republicans in the North; and the Democrats are, if not now Free Traders, at any rate only *moderate* Protectionists, while the Republicans stand for a tariff of the highest kind.

The division of the people over the question of slavery became yet more marked when Chief Justice Taney gave the opinion in the Dred Scott Case (1857) that a slave or the descendant of a slave could never be a citizen of the United States. This opinion decided the anti-slavery people (the 'Abolitionists') to work

for an amendment to the Constitution, to the effect that slavery should be prohibited by the law of the land. The Republican party, however, could not secure enough votes to ensure that the President should be a Republican and an Abolitionist. In 1860, however, the Democratic party was temporarily split into two sections, one being more extreme in its views on slavery than the other; each section nominated a candidate of its own for the Presidency. This split among the Democrats enabled the Republicans to secure a majority of votes for their candidate, Abraham Lincoln, a lawyer of Springfield, Ohio (November 1860). The leading politicians who were in favour of slavery therefore made ready for a secession of their States. By February 1861 South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, and Louisiana seceded from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America under a President of their own choosing, Jefferson Davis, a former Union Secretary for War. A Confederate army was organized. Abraham Lincoln had declared the Union to be indissoluble and consequently the Confederate Secession to be unlawful. Over this question the Civil War of 1861–5 was fought. It began with an attack upon Fort Sumter, which was held by Northern troops, in Charleston harbour, on the 12th April 1861. The fort capitulated on the 14th.

The issue between the North and the South in the Civil War was not simply whether slavery should or should not exist, although that question was also being decided. The paramount question was whether there should be one Union of States or two. Then the Civil War decided that there should be one Power, the United States of America, and that there was no 'right of secession'. Had the judgement by battle gone the other way modern history would have run a very different course from that which has happened.

The Southern Confederate States had a population of about eight and a half million; the Northern States had about twenty-three million. Nevertheless, in spite of this disparity the South made a splendid fight, and produced some very able generals, the best of whom were Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, both of them 'West Pointers', that is, formerly regular officers



Monitors and Ironclads in action, Charleston, 1863

From 'The Illustrated London News' of 1863

of the old Union army, trained at West Point military academy on the Hudson.

The war was long, the military problem of the North, in spite of the disparity of numbers between the contending parties, so difficult that the faith and vision and will-power of Abraham Lincoln were taxed to the utmost to persevere to the end. The decisive stages in the war were the capture of New Orleans, the great port of the Mississippi, by Admiral Farragut of the Northern navy in 1862; the siege and capture of Vicksburg, which, standing on a high 'bluff', commands the middle course of the Mississippi, by General Ulysses S. Grant in July 1863; and the defeat by General Meade of Lee's great invasion of Pennsylvania, at the battle of Gettysburg, which also took place in July 1863.

The rest of the war was a long-sustained effort on the part of the North, requiring enormous forces, to circumscribe and sweep together the Confederate forces, which were operating over a huge country, impossible completely to occupy. The chief Northern armies were General Meade's army of the Potomac (in the north of Virginia) and General Sherman's army in Tennessee. The general control of all forces was from 1864 in the hands of Grant.

By the autumn of 1864 Sherman (who 'never acknowledged an error and never repeated one')[1] had fought his way into Georgia from the west and occupied Atlanta. He then made his famous march from Atlanta—300 miles in 24 days—to the sea. Grant and Meade came down through Virginia in May, steadily forcing back Lee by the terrible fights of Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor. Grant's plan was systematically to extend the line of his forces south and west; and thus gradually to 'contain' the Confederate forces which Sherman meanwhile was vigorously engaging from the South. At last Lee gave up the struggle and signed articles of surrender with Grant at Appomattox Court House on the 9th April 1865. The Civil War was at an end.

[1] This was said by Whitelaw Reid who served on the Union side in the Civil War. Reid was Ambassador of the United States in London from 1905 to 1913.

Confederates sinking torpedoes by moonlight in the harbour channel, Charleston, 1863

From 'The Illustrated London News' of 1863

The secession States were taken back into the Union, and the Constitution was amended by articles XIII, XIV, and XV—the first amendment so made since the year 1804. By these articles slavery was made unlawful, all persons born in the United States were declared to be citizens of it, and the right of citizens to vote was not to be denied by any State on account of race and colour.

The States of the South gradually adjusted themselves to the new conditions. Free labour proved to be more profitable than slave labour. Representation in Congress was proportional to the total number of citizens; accordingly, with the negro population counted as citizens, the South has a high representation, which is absolutely in the hands of the whites.

The defeated people and their leaders were well treated. The Southern ex-President, Jefferson Davis, after two years of imprisonment, was allowed to retire to his estates in the State of Mississippi. General Lee, a man of simple, unselfish character, had his estates confiscated but was left free. He became President of Washington College, now known as Washington and Lee University, at Lexington, Virginia, where he became beloved of all the students. He died in 1870. His great opponent in the war, Grant, was elected President of the United States in 1868 and again in 1872. Abraham Lincoln just saw the actual end of the war. Five days later he was shot on the 14th April 1865 in Ford's Theatre, Washington, where he was enjoying what was probably the first moment of relaxation he had had since the five anguished years of the war.[1]

O CAPTAIN! MY CAPTAIN!

O Captain! my Captain! Our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring:
But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red!
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

[1] Lincoln died on the following morning, 15 April, at twenty-two minutes past seven.

O Captain ! my Captain ! rise up and hear the bells ;
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle trills,
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the shores a-crowding,
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning ;
Here Captain ! dear father !
This arm beneath your head !
It is some dream that on the deck
You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor will ;
The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage closed and done ,
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won ;
Exult, O shores ! and ring, O bells !
But I, with mournful tread,
Walk the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

WALT WHITMAN.

The Abolitionist agitation which had preceded the Civil War and the War itself produced numerous writings and some real literature. John Brown, a Northerner who had taken a farm near Harper's Ferry on the Potomac, had tried to raise an insurrection among Abolitionists and negroes in 1859. He was captured and shot after a trial for treason. The verses composed on his death and set to the music of an old negro tune became one of the favourite marching songs of the Northern regiments. Better verses were those of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's *Battle Hymn of the Republic* (1861) : ' Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.' The ' Battle Hymn ', sung to the tune of ' John Brown's body ', was written in order to supersede, if possible, these doggerel verses.

A novel which evoked warm sympathy with the slaves was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, written by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1852. Lord Palmerston, who was not naturally sentimental, read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* three times. Walt Whitman, who was forty-two when the Civil War broke out, served as a medical orderly, writing from his experiences of the war *Drum Taps*, and

other poems and prose-pieces, many of which are collected in his *Specimen Days in America.*

I have said somewhere that the three Presidentiads preceding 1861 show'd how the weakness and wickedness of rulers are just as eligible here in America under republican, as in Europe under dynastic influences. But what can I say of that prompt and splendid wreathing with secession slavery, the arch-enemy personified, the instant he unmistakably show'd his face? The volcanic upheaval of the nation after that firing on the flag at Charleston, proved for certain something which had been previously in great doubt, and at once substantially settled the question of disunion. In my judgment it will remain as the grandest and most encouraging spectacle yet vouchsafed in any age, old or new, to political progress and democracy. It was not for what came to the surface merely—though that was important—but what it indicated below, which was of eternal importance. Down in the abysms of New World humanity there had formed and hardened a primal hard-pan of national Union will, determined and in the majority, refusing to be tampered with or argued against, confronting all emergencies, capable at any time of bursting all surface bonds and breaking out like an earthquake. It is, indeed, the best lesson of the century or of America, and it is a mighty privilege to have been part of it. (Two great spectacles, immortal proofs of democracy, unequalled in all the history of the past, are furnished by the secession wars, one at the beginning, the other at its close. Those are the general, voluntary armed upheaval, and the peaceful and harmonious disbanding of the armies in the summer of 1865.) (*National Uprising and Volunteering.*)

The Civil War, while it was going on, had powerful reverberations upon the Old World. One was that it enabled the Emperor Napoleon III of France to push forward a curious adventure, an attempt to conquer Mexico with French troops and to make it into a monarchy (see p. 722). Another result was to cut off the chief supply of cotton for the Lancashire mills. A 'Cotton Famine' ensued (1862) with terrible unemployment for a time in Lancashire. In spite of this the working-classes in England retained their sympathy with the North, although it was Northern cruisers which prevented the Southern cotton from reaching England. The British upper classes, however, tended to sympathize with the Southern States who were fighting for independence. Great Britain and the Northern States nearly came to

blows over the '*Trent* affair' (1861). A Northern cruiser stopped a British mail steamer and removed from it two Southern diplomatists who were going on a mission to Europe. The British Government actually sent the Guards to Canada, to be ready to cross the American frontier. War was averted by the conciliatory diplomacy of the Prince Consort of Great Britain, Lord Lyons, British Ambassador at Washington, and Charles Francis Adams, United States (Northern) Ambassador at London. The affair of the *Alabama*, a Confederate (Southern) cruiser built in 1862 at the works of Cammel and Laird, Liverpool, took longer to settle. The Northern States claimed from Great Britain compensation for all the damage done to their sea-borne commerce by the *Alabama*, and even for the whole cost of the war after the battle of Gettysburg (July 1863). The claim was submitted to an arbitration tribunal which met in Geneva in 1871 when Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister of Great Britain and when General Grant was President of the United States. The compensation awarded to the United States was three and a quarter million pounds sterling.

When Abraham Lincoln was assassinated the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, in accordance with the Constitution, became President. He was on bad terms with the Senate all through the term of his administration, and was actually impeached, on a charge of contravening a 'Tenure of Office Act', in 1867, but was acquitted. He was succeeded as President by General Grant, who was also re-elected at the end of his first term of office, in 1872. This fine old soldier died in 1885, just after finishing writing his autobiography. The South was now recovering its place in the national life, and even succeeded in getting a Democratic candidate elected as President in 1884. This was Grover Cleveland, a Northerner, although a member of the Democratic party. Under his administration the United States began to assert its dignity and its position in international affairs. When Cleveland, after an interval (during which General Harrison was President), was elected to a second term as President in 1892 this became more apparent.

Grover Cleveland's second term of the presidential office ran

from 1893 to 1897. During this period and in the following years the foreign policy of the United States became more vigorous than it had been since the time of President Monroe. In Cleveland's time, as in Monroe's time, the international relations of the United States were vitally connected with the relations which existed between Europe and Latin America. In particular, the United States Government challenged the superior position held by Great Britain in the lands bordering on the Caribbean Sea; and the British Government, after a period of cautious negotiation, allowed the claim of the United States to predominance in the Caribbean.

Between 1887 and 1895 Great Britain and Venezuela had a dispute about the frontier of British Guiana. In 1895 the Government of the United States claimed that, by virtue of the Monroe Doctrine, she had a predominant position in the American Continent, and that it had therefore the right to intervene in the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Dispute. For a time public opinion both in Great Britain and the United States was rather acutely aroused, and President Cleveland appeared to be on the point of asking Congress to declare war. This, however, was averted. When the war-crisis was over the British Government, in which Lord Salisbury was both Premier and Foreign Secretary, agreed with Venezuela (in a treaty signed at Washington) to submit the boundary-dispute to arbitration. Thus the claim of the United States Government to intervene and mediate in matters between a European Power and Latin America was practically recognized by Great Britain. The decision of the Arbitration Court, which held its sittings in Paris, concerning the British Guiana-Venezuela Boundary, was distinctly in favour of Great Britain.

Over the Central American Canal question the British Government showed itself, after a long series of negotiations, equally favourable to the United States' point of view. That the Isthmus of Central America should be pierced by a ship-canal and that this plan, if carried into effect, would be an advantage to the whole world was obvious to all observers. The Central American States, however, had neither the capital nor

the technical ability to carry out this scheme. The two Powers which had special interests in America and which were rich enough and capable enough to make the canal were Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain, owing to her possession of Jamaica and other islands in the Caribbean Sea, and owing to her continental possession of British Honduras (not to mention Canada in the north) and to her world-wide maritime position, had certainly a good claim to special interest in the canal-project.

In 1850 the Governments of the United States and Great Britain concluded an agreement, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, to the effect that neither party would obtain or maintain any exclusive control over the ship-canal. Actually, however, it was a French Company (the chief mover being Vicomte Ferdinand de Lesseps) which obtained from Colombia the concession to construct the canal. Lesseps had succeeded in making the great international waterway, the Suez Canal. He was, however, to fail in his second effort, for the French Panama Canal Company became bankrupt in 1888. During Grover Cleveland's second Presidency the United States Government itself took up the project of building a canal, but it was to be a purely American canal; Great Britain was to have nothing to do with it. This was an essential condition of the revived interest of the United States in the Monroe Doctrine.

The British Government had a secure position, and could claim, both on account of the geographical proximity of its colonies to the projected canal-zone and also on account of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, that the canal should not be exclusively in the hands of the United States Government. But, in face of the persistent claim of the United States to full control, the British Government, after making quite clear in its dispatches that its rights under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty were unimpeachable, abandoned its special position. At this time the United States Secretary of State was John Hay, and the British Ambassador at Washington was Sir Julian Pauncefote, two far-seeing, conciliatory statesmen. By the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of the 18th November 1901 the British Government agreed that the Government of the United States should construct, own, and

maintain military police along a canal across the Isthmus, on condition that all nations should be allowed to use the canal freely, subject only to payment of the ordinary tolls, and keeping of the necessary rules.

> The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these Rules, on terms of entire equality so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions of traffic or otherwise. (Art. III.)

Probably everybody now admits that the British Government had been conciliatory and generous with regard to the desires of the United States respecting the canal. If this is so the United States Government cannot be acquitted of ingratitude when, as soon as the Canal was built and opened, it proceeded to exempt the ships of its coast-wise trade from paying tolls. This happened under President Taft's Administration (1909–13). The argument used was that the stipulation in the Hay-Pauncefote Convention for the equal treatment of all nations meant that the United States could not give preferential treatment to one foreign State over another; but that the Treaty did not prevent the United States Government, which owned the Canal, benefiting its own nationals. The British Government, however, would not in this case recede from its claim that 'entire equality' meant equal treatment for all, including the United States. Woodrow Wilson, when he became President, maintained that the United States Government still conceived itself to be within its rights; but with the chivalry that always distinguished his policy he stated that the special exemption to American ships would be withdrawn, so that no foreign Government could have a shadow of grievance to allege.

The position of the United States in the Canal zone and the Caribbean Sea was further strengthened as a result of the Spanish-American War. Cuba and Porto Rico were the last possessions left to Spain out of her magnificent Empire in the New World. In 1895 insurrection broke out (or rather was renewed) in Cuba. The public of the United States became greatly interested. The rebellion dragged on, the Spanish army, in spite of its use

of the most ruthless methods of scientific warfare, being unable to subdue it. On the 15th February 1898 the United States cruiser *Maine*, lying at anchor in Havana Bay, suddenly blew up; 258 officers and men were killed. The explosion was attributed to Spanish agency, but the truth has never come out. Feeling in the United States now rose to white-heat, and in April Congress declared war. In the ensuing hostilities Spain lost not merely Cuba and Porto Rico but also the Far Eastern Philippine Islands. By the Treaty of Paris, 10th December 1898, Spain ceded Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands to the United States. Cuba became an independent Republic. The war, which was conducted by the Administration of President McKinley (1897–1901), brought into great prominence Theodore Roosevelt, formerly Governor of New York, who raised and led a regiment of 'Rough Riders' and greatly distinguished himself at the capture of Santiago de Cuba. When McKinley was assassinated at Buffalo, in September 1901, Roosevelt (who was then Vice-President), in accordance with the Constitution, became President. The influence of the United States became more world-wide than ever.

In domestic affairs Roosevelt engaged in a great contest to secure legal control of the great Trusts or Industrial and Financial 'Combines' which largely dominated the commerce of the United States. He also did much to preserve the forests and other natural resources of the country which were being wastefully exploited. In foreign affairs his greatest achievement was his successful offer of friendly offices to Russia and Japan when these two Powers seemed to have fought each other to a stalemate. The peace conference of the Russians and Japanese met at Portsmouth, Maine, and the Treaty of Peace was signed in that city on the 29th August 1905. Roosevelt was subsequently awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. After ceasing to be President in 1909 he went first on a long sporting expedition in Africa, and later visited Egypt, the capitals of Europe and England, of which latter country he became a firm friend.

During the following Presidency, that of William Taft (1909–13), the Republican Party was temporarily split. Roosevelt led one

section, Taft another. It was this that enabled the Democratic Party to secure the election of Woodrow Wilson, a Southerner, formerly President of Princeton College and since then Governor of New Jersey. Wilson, a man of the highest ideals, of the strongest power of will, soon made a profound impression in both home and foreign politics; but, owing to a certain coldness and reserve in his nature and manner, his influence just stopped short of being the greatest.

When the European War broke out Theodore Roosevelt was outspoken in his denunciation of the German invasion of Belgium, but President Wilson reserved his judgement and said nothing. When Roosevelt urged that the United States should intervene Wilson remained absolutely passive. He was equally unmoved by the impassioned letters of the American Ambassador in London, Walter Hines Page, a profound believer in the justice of England's cause. It is, indeed, almost certain that the people of the United States were far too divided in sympathy, and far too detached from the actual issues at stake in Europe, to have entered the War in 1914. Wilson's attitude, which he himself described as one of 'watchful waiting', was probably the best suited to the time. He tried to be absolutely impartial while he was being pressed from all sides, urged by many people to intervene against Germany, by others to threaten England for maintaining something like a maritime blockade of Germany. He was accused of weakness and cowardice; but he went his own way. When the Germans sank American ships he intimated plainly that this must stop. Apparently the Germans, like many people in England and America at that time, did not take his warning seriously. On the 31st January 1917 the German Government declared an unrestricted blockade of the British Isles and began again to sink American ships. On the 6th April 1917, after a vote in Congress, Wilson signed a declaration of war.

Once actually in the war Wilson's energy in prosecuting it was titanic. The German Government affected to despise the preparations of the Americans at three thousand miles' distance from the scene of hostilities; but the quiet thoroughness of Wilson, and the assured way in which he announced (at the height

THESEUS ROOSEVELT AND THE MINOTAUR.

Roosevelt and the Meat Trusts

By permission of the Proprietors of 'Punch'

of the German military success of March 1918) that eight million Americans were in training to come to Europe, must have played a great part in breaking down the Germans' will. The magnificent way in which, after Foch had been made chief among the Allied Generals on the 27th March 1918, Wilson put all the American troops in France entirely at Foch's disposal made possible the Allied success at the end of the fateful month of July. Foch, with a large American reserve of soldiers, was able to arrange the strategy which produced the blow of 18th July, and turned the German advance on Paris into a retreat and, in time, almost into a rout.

Along with his military effort Wilson attacked the Central Powers by his great speeches on nationality and on the morality of States. The Fourteen Points, stated in an address to Congress on the 8th January 1918, were a challenge alike to the military and political methods of the Prussian *Junker* class, and to the Habsburg domination over many separate nations. And what were challenges to the Central Powers were messages of hope to all who were losing faith through what seemed like the destruction of Western Civilization, and who yet, vaguely, still looked for a better world. No speeches have been more nobly expressed, none have been more spiritually potent, than were the grand compositions, eloquent although not rhetorical, which Wilson uttered in 1917–18. Then came the Armistice and the Peace Conference of Paris with Wilson at the pinnacle of fame.

In the early stages of the Conference of Paris President Wilson was undoubtedly the chief of the Allied statesmen; and to his unwavering exertions is due the success of the long effort, shared by General Smuts, Lord Robert Cecil, and Léon Bourgeois, to bring the League of Nations into being. In his other aims Wilson was not so successful, and the Treaty of Versailles of the 25th June 1919 was not altogether as he would have liked it to be. Still, it had the Covenant of the League of Nations in the forefront, and so was some considerable guarantee of justice between nations. But the President could not get his own nation to accept the Treaty with the League of Nations in it. He had made the mistake of taking only members of his own political

THE HOPE OF THE WORLD.

PEACE. "THIS IS MY TEMPLE AND YOU ARE ITS PRIESTESS. GUARD WELL THE SACRED FLAME."

party, the Democrats, with him as delegates to the Conference of Paris: being used to managing things somewhat autocratically himself, he would have no members of the Republican party with him, to interfere with his policy. The result was that when he went back to the United States the Senate, in which there was a Republican majority, was decidedly against him. The Treaty with Germany was rejected, and the idea of the United States entering into the League of Nations was definitely put aside. With unquenchable zeal Wilson set forth on a tour of the Western States, making a series of urgent orations to win approval for the League of Nations. In the middle of this noble 'campaign' the overtaxed brain and body of this lonely thinker and worker were smitten by a stroke of paralysis (September 1919). He had still about a year and a half of his Presidency to fulfil. When this was over he retired to private life in Washington and died, as he had lived, calm, fine, and courageous, on the 3rd February 1924.[1]

[1] For an estimate of Wilson's influence see *Three Master Builders and Another*, by P. H. Box (1924).

Supplementary Dates.

XXV

1843 Joseph Smith authorizes polygamy for the Mormons.
1845 Hawthorne's *Mosses from an old Manse.*
1847 Foundation of Salt Lake City.
Emerson's *Poems.*
1848 Lowell's *Biglow Papers.*
1850 Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter.*
1851 Longfellow's *Golden Legend.*
1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*
1855 Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass.*
1858 Oliver Wendell Holmes's *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.*
1868 Whittier's *Snowbound.*
1870 Lowell's *My Study Window.*
1880 Mark Twain's *A Tramp Abroad.*

XXVI

LATIN AMERICA

After the fall of the Spanish Empire in America the newly freed colonies had for many years a turbulent history. This was partly due to the character of the population, the old Indian and Spanish stocks not having, in each colony, blended into a homogeneous people. It was due partly also to the fact that under the Spanish Empire the South American peoples had not received any experience or training in self-government.

Spanish rule ceased in the various places where it had existed in South America practically about the same time, in the years which followed the fall of the Napoleonic Empire in Europe. Simon Bolivar, the Liberator, hoped for a South American Federation, but distances were too great between the different centres of Spanish civilization to admit of this. Accordingly the old Spanish administrative divisions were maintained, to serve as the boundaries of independent States. All these States adopted republican constitutions based on the United States constitution of 1787.

The revolt of Mexico against Spain began in 1810 under the leadership of a priest named Hidalgo. When he was executed in 1811 another priest called Morelos kept the insurrection alive until he too was killed in 1815. The finally successful insurrectionist was General Iturbide, who, after the expulsion of the last viceroy in 1821, made himself Emperor (1822). Successful in throwing off the yoke of Spain, he was unable to maintain his own power and was shot in 1825 by the orders of General Santa Anna. A Republic was established. This young man Santa Anna (he was then thirty years of age) was to wield a commanding influence upon Mexico's destiny, intermittently, for about fifty years. He was either President, dictator, or power behind the scenes until 1845. His autocratic, centralizing policy resulted in the province of Texas declaring itself independent in 1835,

and joining the United States in 1845. After about a year's exile in Havana, in 1845, Santa Anna returned to lead his country's forces in the war against the United States. His failure in the war brought him no discredit, for he was a good soldier, but in 1855 he had to flee the country again.

In 1861 Spanish, British, and French forces made hostile demonstrations at Vera Cruz in order to compel the Republic of Mexico to honour its debts. A settlement was reached which satisfied the British and Spanish Governments, but not the French. After the withdrawal of the British and Spanish forces the French remained. Gradually the French effort developed into a regular war made by France for the conquest of Mexico. In order to placate the other Powers of Europe Napoleon III arranged for an Austrian, not a French prince, to have the Mexican throne. This was the Archduke Maximilian, younger brother of the Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph. In 1864 Maximilian came to Mexico. He was supported by French troops under Generals Forey and Bazaine, and by some influential Mexicans, including Santa Anna. In 1867 the Government of the United States, its hands being now free from the Civil War at home, induced Napoleon III (whose forces were being hard pressed by General Juarez) to withdraw his forces. Maximilian refused to leave with the French troops. He fought on with his few supporters until betrayed, and was shot at Queretaro on the 19th July 1867.

The victory of the Mexican Republicans against the French and Maximilian was largely due to Benito Juarez, a pure-blooded Indian, who had been elected President in 1857. He maintained his position, in the face of many risings, with indomitable determination until his death in 1872. In the following period power came into the hands of his ablest Lieutenant, General Porfirio Diaz, who governed this difficult country and people with magnificent efficiency for thirty years. Diaz, the first servant of the State, made Mexico prosperous and peaceful, but he was totally unable to find or to train any strong men to succeed him. In 1911 a revolution of the Mexican Liberals drove him from power. The old soldier and statesman died in Paris on the

"The Franciscan friars now appeared, the two in front bearing the cross and holy water, the others holding tapers. Each of the three coffins intended for the doomed men was carried by a group of four Indians; three black crosses, to be fixed where each prisoner knelt for execution, were borne last.

"Captain Gonzalès then made a sign to Maximilian to move forward. The Emperor advanced courageously, saying to the two generals—'Vamo nos à la libertad!' (Let us go to freedom!)

"The procession slowly ascended the street leading to the cemetery, behind the church, and by the road approaching the aqueduct. It soon came out upon the height overlooking the plain, and seen from below the appearance of the *cortége* was most impressive. The Emperor walked first, having the Abbé Fischer on his right, and the bishop on his left. Immediately behind came Miramon, supported on each side by Franciscans, and Mejia between two priests belonging to the parish of Santa Cruz.

"When the procession reached the summit of the hill Maximilian looked steadily for a moment at the rising sun; then, taking out his watch, he pressed a spring which concealed a portrait, in miniature, of the Empress Charlotte. He kissed it, and, handing the chain to the Abbé Fischer, said—'Carry this souvenir to Europe to my dear wife, and if she be ever able to understand you, say that my eyes closed with the impression of her image, which I shall carry with me above!'

"The *cortége* had now reached the great exterior wall of the cemetery, and the bells were slowly tolling for a funeral knell; only those composing the escort were present, for the crowd had been debarred from ascending the hill.

"Three small benches, with the wooden crosses, were placed against the wall; and the three shooting parties, each having two non-commissioned officers as a reserve, for the *coup de grâce*, approached within a few paces of the prisoners.

"The Emperor at the noise made by the movement of the muskets thought the soldiers were about to fire, and rapidly turning to his two companions, he embraced them most affectionately. Miramon, surprised, very nearly sank upon the seat, where he remained quite helpless; and the Franciscans raised him in their arms. Mejia returned the embrace of Maximilian, whispering some broken words which were not overheard; he then folded his arms and remained standing.

"The bishop advancing addressed the Emperor. 'Sire, give to Mexico, without any exception, the kiss of reconciliation in my person; let your Majesty, in this supreme moment, accord pardon to all.'

"The Emperor was unable to conceal the emotion which agitated him; he allowed the bishop to embrace him; then, raising his voice, he said, 'Tell Lopez that I forgive him his treachery; tell all Mexico that I pardon its crime.'

The Death of Maximilian

From 'The Morning Post' at the time

2nd July 1915. His immediate successors speedily made a mess of the fine State he had constructed. Neither the mild and intellectual Liberal, Madero, nor the trained professional soldier, Huerta, could keep the peace. General Carranza, more of a politician than a soldier, did better; he restored a good part of the land to order between the years 1914 and 1920, but he alienated the United States and Great Britain by seizing the property of some English and American companies. He was displaced by General Obregon (and was killed while attempting to escape from Mexico) in May 1920. Obregon, being elected President, recognized Mexico's debts and the rights of foreign nations in Mexico, so that in 1923 the United States opened up regular relations with his Government.

South of the vast State of Mexico is the territory usually known as Central America. It is occupied by six Republics, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Salvador, and Panama, besides the colony of British Honduras. The Republic of Panama is a comparatively recent creation, made by secession from the continental South American State of Columbia in November 1903.

The Central American Republics (except Panama) are similar in race, in civilization, in economic development, and in history. There is, therefore, always a possibility of their joining together into a Federation for their common interests. Actually, after the Central American area was detached from Spanish rule in 1821 a Confederacy was established, which lasted until 1839. In that year the present Republics claimed and established complete independence; the example was set by Guatemala. There Rafael Carrera, one of those strong-minded autocrats who from time to time rise in Latin America, made himself practically sovereign, and ruled until 1865.

These Republics all had a stormy history for the first fifty years of their existence, suffering not only from revolutions (*pronunciamientos*) at home, but from apparently interminable wars with each other. Between 1855 and 1860 Central America was sorely troubled by an adventurer from the United States, William Walker of Nashville, Tennessee. This ardent young man

(he was only thirty-one when he descended on Nicaragua), honest, brave, and temperate, believed that he was destined to free Spanish Americans from the oppression of parties and dictators. With the help of other freebooters, whom he governed with a rod of iron, he made himself President of Nicaragua, in 1856–7. He subsequently organized other descents upon the State which he wished to 'free' until he was caught, tried, and shot by the Government of the Republic of Honduras on the 12th September 1860.

In the year 1907 the Governments of the South American Republics concluded treaties among themselves, establishing a High Court for the settlement of all their differences with each other. This attempt to supersede war by a system of inter-State justice broke down through Nicaragua rejecting a decision of the High Court. However, in February 1923, after a Conference held at Washington, with Mr. Charles E. Hughes, United States Secretary of State, present and acting as chairman, a new series of treaties was concluded. The five Central American Republics, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador, bound themselves 'to observe the most complete harmony', and agreed to withhold their recognition from any one of their members which by *coup d'état* should change the Government without the consent of the people. At the same time an International Central American Tribunal was established to settle all questions of dispute between the five Republics. A third treaty declared Free Trade to exist between the States and a fourth limited their armaments and defined what was to be the exact number of each State's army. Thus, while maintaining their separate sovereign rights, the Central American States have joined together to guarantee their existing institutions, to settle all their disputes, and to associate freely with each other.

The Republic of Colombia, the most northerly of the Continental States of South America, began with the insurrection of 1810 and was made, under Simon Bolivar, into a Federal State, including what are now the States of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. Distance, lack of population, and of common interest prevented this large Federal State from holding together. When

the split came in 1831, Colombia became the Republic of New Granada. In 1861 it became the United States of Colombia, with nine self-governing States whose separate issues of postage stamps now somewhat puzzle the European collector. In 1886 it reverted to a unitary constitution and is now known as the Republic of Colombia. During the negotiations with President Roosevelt of the United States concerning the projected Isthmus Canal, Colombia lost its Central American province of Panama. This became the Republic of Panama, independent and protected by the United States (1903). Against this secession Colombia vehemently protested, but it has since (1914) recognized the independence of Panama and accepted an indemnity from the United States for the loss of position in the Canal Zone.

Venezuela in the middle portion of the nineteenth century suffered greatly from the struggles of the *Yellows* and *Blues*, that is, the Liberal and Conservative parties. Between 1866 and 1870 this produced nearly continuous and bloody civil war. From the desolation which the war was bringing on the people, Venezuela was saved by General Guzman Blanco, inferior in public spirit or efficiency to Diaz of Mexico, yet something of a statesman and a man of undoubted force of character. He was several times President, and—whether President or not—was actually the governing personality of the Republic from 1870 to 1886. At the end of this period he retired to Paris, having had himself appointed diplomatic Minister to all the Courts and Governments of Europe. He left behind him in Venezuela one of his own nominees as President. In 1889, however, a revolution destroyed his influence. Nevertheless the peace and financial security which for nearly twenty years he had given to Venezuela had permanently benefited the country. Venezuela is now a prosperous and, it appears, stable State.

Of the other South American Republics two, Ecuador and Bolivia, are only very partially settled with a white population. The others, partly perhaps owing to having a larger proportion of whites, partly owing to the possession of fine coasts, rivers, and ports, are much more progressive, much more in touch with the rest of the world. Of these Brazil is the largest. The Royal

Family of Portugal had escaped to this country when Napoleon's troops occupied Lisbon in 1807. On the expulsion of the French troops in 1811 from Portugal, the Royal Family did not return from Brazil, but remained at Rio de Janeiro until 1821. Meanwhile, Portugal was governed by a regency. In 1821 John VI returned to Lisbon and died in 1826. His granddaughter, Maria, succeeded him on the Portuguese throne. In the meantime his son Pedro I had declared himself Emperor of Brazil, and had renounced his rights on Portugal in favour of his daughter Maria. Dom Pedro, however, had to go to Portugal to fight for Maria in the Miguelite War. In 1831 he abdicated from the Brazilian throne, having no great love for any Crown. Maria remained Queen of Portugal, married a Prince of Coburg, and founded the family which reigned at Lisbon until 1910. The Brazilian branch, the male line of the House of Braganza, represented by the Emperor Pedro II, son of Pedro I, reigned at Rio de Janeiro until 1889. Pedro II was a good man and a good emperor, but like his father he cared very little for a throne. When in 1889 the Republican party, which had been fairly strong in the political life of Brazil for twenty years, made a *coup d'état*, Dom Pedro, who had deliberately gone on a visit to Europe, quietly accepted his deposition and remained where he was. He was a man of quiet, scholarly tastes, with a fairly ample fortune. He spent the remaining two years of his life in Europe, and died at Paris on the 5th December 1891.

The change from an Empire to a Republic in Brazil was accepted without enthusiasm as something inevitable on the republican Continent of America. The constitution of the Republic is Federal, the constituent States having large powers of self-government. In foreign affairs Brazil has maintained close ties with Great Britain, and sent warships to European waters to support the Entente Powers in the War of 1914–18.

Bordering on Brazil, towards the south, are Paraguay and Uruguay. These two countries, although each of them is larger than the British Isles, are small when compared with Brazil, which is as big as the Continent of Europe. Paraguay, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was the chosen domain

of the Jesuit missionaries, who administered it with complete paternalism. It became an ordinary Spanish province after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus. In 1814 Paraguay found its liberator in Dr. Francia, about whom Carlyle wrote a celebrated essay, and who held absolute sway until his death in 1840.

José Gaspar Rodriguez Francia was born at Ascension in 1757. He received a good education at the University of Cordova de Tucuman in what is now the Argentine Republic. His chief interest at first was theology, and his degree of Doctor was gained in that study. Later he became a practising lawyer. Although over fifty years old when the insurrection against the Spanish Empire in Paraguay occurred, Francia at once took control of the movement. For the next thirty years he governed the country like an ancient Greek tyrant, encouraging agriculture, promoting public works, dealing out rigid justice between man and man, while putting himself above the ordinary law. He was, indeed, a type of the strong-minded hero whom Carlyle admired in Frederick the Great. Like Frederick, Francia left no successor to carry on his work. He had not even trained good administrators : and the Paraguayans, accustomed (both under the Jesuits and under Francia) passively to follow the strong-willed governors, were unable to use their liberty. Anarchy followed ; from this they were again saved by a dictator, Don Antonio Lopez, a nephew of Francia.

Lopez died in 1862. His son, Don Francisco, succeeded to his power, and became involved in a frightful struggle, concerning frontiers, with Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentine. The Paraguayans, the descendants of the warlike Guarini Indians whom even the Jesuits had only partially tamed, made for five long years a truly heroic struggle against their overwhelming foes. Their devotion to a cause which in itself was not particularly lofty excites wonder and admiration. At the end of the struggle, when Don Francisco Lopez had been killed at the battle of Aquideban on the 1st March 1870, the great majority of males in Paraguay had been wiped out of existence. The population had fallen from 1,300,000 to 220,000, of whom only 28,000 were men. Since then fifty years of comparative peace and a large

immigration from Europe have restored the population to more normal proportions and numbers. Even now, however, there are less than a million people in Paraguay.

Uruguay may be said to have started when the Spanish Governor of Buenos Ayres founded on a low promontory on the north side of the estuary of the River Plate the town which has since grown into the magnificent city of Montevideo. It was liberated from Spanish rule, like most of the other South American provinces, in 1814. During the Napoleonic Wars a British force under General Whitelocke had held Montevideo in 1807, but it was lost when Whitelocke was defeated at Buenos Ayres. Both Brazil and the Argentine had designs against the Uruguayan Republic. After the year 1835 numbers of refugees crossed the River Plate and took refuge from the tyranny of the Argentine dictator Rosas in Montevideo. This provoked Rosas to make war upon Uruguay. For eight years Montevideo was attacked and intermittently besieged by the Argentinos. It was brilliantly defended from 1842 to 1846 by Garibaldi. Garibaldi had left Italy in consequence of the failure of the 'Young Italy' movement, and now employed his talent for irregular military and naval warfare, and his passion for freedom, in the service of the Uruguayans. His adventures are fully described in his interesting *Autobiography*.

The war ended with the intervention of the British and French fleets which blockaded Buenos Ayres in 1846, and opened the River Plate to trade. Since then the pastoral industry of Uruguay, a country of rolling, grassy plains, has made enormous progress: it is beautifully and romantically described in W. H. Hudson's *The Purple Land* (1885).

The Argentine Republic, which is ten times the size of the British Isles, is perhaps the most highly developed of the South American States. European immigrants and capital (largely British) have given it the means of building up a fine system of railways, electric and gas plant, and other modern conveniences. Except under the dictator Rosas, whose reign of terror lasted from 1835 until 1852, the republic has been, on the whole, mildly and successfully governed, and has engaged in no external

war since the struggle with Paraguay, 1865–7. This comparatively quiet domestic history was due to General Roca, a statesman as well as a soldier, who held the Presidency from 1880 to 1886, and from 1898 to 1904. Local revolts in the intervals between Roca's period as President did not seriously affect the general progress of the country.

Covering the western slope of the South American continent are the large States of Bolivia, Peru, and Chile. Bolivia is a mountainous country, many parts of its frontier being over 1,300 feet high. Its fertile valleys have an almost tropical climate, and it shares with Peru one of the wonders of the world, Lake Titicaca, about 80 miles long and situated at a height of 1,245 feet above sea. Since the disastrous war of 1879–83 with Chile, Bolivia, huge State as it is, has been entirely land-locked.

Bolivia's neighbour, Peru, is one of the most interesting States of this fascinating continent. Its people are descendants of the Spaniards and of the Inca Indians, a mild-mannered race who, in Pizarro's day, had attained to a fairly high condition of civilization. After Spain had fought her last battle in South America at Ayacucho, in 1824, Peru went through the usual vicissitudes of a people wholly inexperienced in self-government, until 1844. Then the troubles of the time threw up one of those strong men for whom the conditions of South American politics gave opportunity. The Peruvian strong man was a real statesman, Ramon Castilla, who had fought at Ayacucho, and had the position of a national hero. From 1844 to 1866 he was President, and succeeded both in keeping peace at home, and in establishing the credit for Peru by paying her debts abroad. In 1872 Peru was fortunate to find another statesman, Manuel Pardo, the first civilian to be elected President. A scholar and man of letters himself, he encouraged literature and art, exploration and science, and carefully administered the finances of the country.

In 1879 the disaster of modern Peruvian history came when the State became involved in war with Chile over the possession of the nitrate province of Tarapaca. South American wars, although fought with small numbers, have been very sanguinary. In this war, in which the Bolivians fought on the Peruvian side, the

greatest determination was shown by all combatants; it only ended with the complete exhaustion of the Peruvians. On the sea it was the first war in which ironclad ships had fought against each other. Chile had two ironclads; Peru had one, the *Huascar*. On the fate of this solitary ship the fate of Peru depended. In a tremendous fight on the 8th October 1879 the *Huascar* was captured after its captain, the Admiral Grau, and almost all the officers had been killed. The army of the Chilians was equally successful, and after three pitched battles took the Peruvian capital Lima by storm in 1881. Peace was not made until 1883 when, by the Treaty of Ancon, Peru ceded Tarapaca; Chile was also to occupy the provinces of Tacna and Arica for ten years; at the end of this period a plebiscite of the inhabitants was to decide whether these provinces were to be Chilian or to be returned to Peru. Certain difficulties have prevented this settlement of the Tacna-Arica question from taking place. When the League of Nations was established Peru laid the case in front of that body, but the matter still awaits conclusion.

Chile, since the year 1851, has been the most settled State, politically and socially, in South America. In the year 1833 it was endowed with a Constitution of the usual pattern, with a President, and a Legislative (Congress) of two Chambers. This Constitution has worked well. With Europe Chile has always maintained good relations, except that between 1863 and 1866 it supported Peru in a dispute which that State had with Spain. In 1866 Valparaiso was bombarded by a squadron of the Spanish Navy; after this hostilities ceased and peace was made. In 1891 there was a civil war lasting for six months between the Conservative party, which was predominant in Congress, and José Manoel Balmaceda, the Liberal President, who by autocratic methods wished to make Chile more democratic. The Conservatives won, and Balmaceda resigned and committed suicide.

The history of this struggle explains the peculiar condition of Chile. The State has for nearly a hundred years been controlled by a number of wealthy, landed and moneyed families, mainly of old Spanish stock, but containing also members of British descent. These 'governing families' have proved themselves

to be an intelligent oligarchy, maintaining peace in domestic and foreign relations, and providing what is acknowledged to be efficient administration. It was against this monopoly of administration by an oligarchy that the honest and public-spirited autocrat, Balmaceda, was contending, and his effort was watched with sympathy by the democracies of Europe. Yet there have been European observers who hold that the present system of government in Chile, a compound of aristocracy and democracy, is not unsuitable to the country.

The blending of Spanish and Indian stocks in South America has resulted in populations which are apt to become excited, reckless, and cruel in times of political crisis. Frequent revolutions have led to wars which have not been child's play, but have been fought with extraordinary bitterness, and with (considering the small forces engaged) a very high proportion of deaths. From these calamities States have often been saved only by a kind of Caesarism, by some strong, ambitious man, sometimes public-spirited, sometimes quite unscrupulous, whom the anomalous conditions of South American life seem to develop. In recent years, however, political conditions have become much more stable. The people in each State grow, as a whole, more educated, more experienced in politics; trained administrators exist in the public offices; and in public life capacity is no longer the rare possession of some isolated 'dictator'.

XXVII

THE FAR EAST

It is obvious to all observers that in the last century and a half the mass of mankind have discovered each other. The world has become *one*, instead of being divided into almost wholly isolated continents as it was in the Middle Ages and even more recent times. Now the events in one hemisphere, or in one continent, react like electric shocks upon the whole of mankind.

The life of China and Japan is to-day part of world-history, but formerly it was not so. Japan has the oldest reigning dynasty in the world. The founder of the Mikado's line is reputed to have ascended the throne in 660 B. C.

From the dawn of history until the year 1853, when Commodore Perry came steaming into the Bay of Yedo, Japan was out of touch with Europe. There was a time indeed, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when the Dutch and Portuguese were allowed to enter Japan and when numerous converts were made to Christianity. But in 1624 the policy of the Shogun changed, and by the year 1638 all the foreigners were driven out and Christianity was extirpated from the islands. Buddhism was left without a rival.

The Shogun was a hereditary general (not always from the same family) who was the effective ruler of Japan and who reduced the power of the titular ruler, the Mikado, to a mere shadow. The Shogunate, which first rose to power in 1192 (it had several periods of depression), had its seat at Yedo (named in modern times Tokyo). The seat of the Mikado, whom no one but his immediate attendants ever saw, was at Kyoto.

Commodore Perry, with a squadron of United States warships, came to the Islands in 1853 with instructions to obtain from the Japanese permission for American whaling ships to use their ports. The Shogun, threatened with bombardment, consented to make a treaty. The Powers of Europe forthwith claimed the

THE JAPANESE EXHIBITION, IN PALL-MALL EAST.—(SEE NEXT PAGE.)

The Opening of Japan

From 'The Illustrated London News' of 1854

JAPANESE EXHIBITION

A SINGULAR cargo of curiosities has just been brought to the metropolis from Japan, one of the most sealed countries of the globe; and the rarity of whose productions beyond its own pale, reminds one of the disgust of the Citizen of the World at the meanness of the Dutch merchants, through whose covert dealings we have hitherto been accustomed exclusively to receive *quasi* specimens of Japanese Art and Manufacture

The Collection was opened to the public, at the Gallery of the Old Society of Painters in Water Colours, in Pall-mall East, on Monday last, and it is said to be the first direct importation that has ever taken place to this country; only one European ship, belonging to a Dutch merchant, having permission to trade annually with Japan. The articles consist of tables, cabinets, boxes, &c, japanned upon wood, inlaid with pearl and enamel; distinguished from the papier mâché of this country by its extreme lightness and smoothness, and absence of painting, as much as by the peculiarity of the designs, which are in most cases exceedingly graceful. There are also some embellished with very beautiful designs in coloured straw, a kind of ornamentation peculiar to the Japanese, and of which the cabinet, with the birds in our Engraving, is one of the best specimens. The bronzes are rare and mostly antique: the two largest bronze vases, which are very pure in form, and are shown on the table in our Illustration, we understand have been purchased for the Museum of Practical Art, at Marlborough House; as also a very beautifully ornamented glove-box, some boxes of the red and green lacquer, which are exceedingly scarce, and a small table ornamented with straw. The porcelain, of which there is a considerable show, consists of vases and water-bottles of elegant forms, and some of a grotesque nature, cups, &c., of uncommon lightness and transparency, some of them very nicely decorated; round many a bamboo casing has been woven with marvellous nicety, considering the thickness of the cup being no greater than that of an egg-shell. The tall vase water-bottle and cups on the table in our Illustration has been selected as fairly representing this department of the Exhibition. The basket-work is fine and ingenious in shape and pattern, and all of it executed in bamboo.

There are also some silk dresses and wrappers, very soft and lightly wadded, which are worn by the Japanese nobles; and on the walls are pictures of Japanese of all ranks—both men and women—in a variety of costumes, of which that of a bride, and a female walking with one of the fanlike parasols commonly used in that country, will be seen in our Engraving; which also contains one of several screens, on which are depicted the houses and domestic manners of the people. In the background of the Illustration is an inlaid wardrobe, purely Japanese; the forms only of most of the furniture being evidently of European origin, though the decoration, in all cases, is wholly their own. The table in the centre is one of the best: the top is decorated with a very graceful design, inlaid in pearl; the claw being of a novel form, consisting of a representation of three flying foxes, the wings of which form the support. There are also tables, supported by monkeys and fish; puzzle-boxes of a variety of kinds; and a quantity of soy, said to far superior to that in general use. Altogether, it forms a very curious collection; and, no doubt, from the interest recently excited by the United States' Expedition to Japan, it will be very attractive.

same privileges, and soon Japan by treaty became connected with nearly the whole world. Foreigners were permitted to trade in five ports, and were given 'extra-territorial' rights, for instance, they could be tried in court only by their own consuls. This was the system of 'Capitulations' similar to the capitalizing or treaty-system which the Western States had with Turkey.

The impact of Western people and Western ideas had on Japan its stimulating effect. The thinking, educated portion of the population began to move. In 1867 the clans and families of privileged feudal nobles rose in revolt against the Shogunate. By the year 1868 the struggle was over. The last Shogun had resigned. Then occurred the most wonderful thing of all. The feudal nobility having gained the supreme power, with all the State at their feet, resigned their privileges, abolished feudalism, and became, in the eye of the law, ordinary subjects. The Mikado was brought forth from the obscurity of centuries, and his capital transferred from Kyoto to Yedo, renamed Tokyo. With a thoroughness which excited the admiration of the whole world the new Government studied the affairs of Western Europe, adopting Western culture and institutions and grafting them upon the existing Japanese civilization. It is hardly too much to say that in 1868 Japan became a Western Power.

In the fifty years after the momentous year 1868 Japan, with the quiet and indomitable persistence which impressed all observers, had been steadily building up her position as a Great Power. In 1889 a Constitution, which had been carefully studied and designed by the best brains in Japan, was granted to the people by the Emperor. There is a Cabinet of Ministers, a Privy Council of Elder Statesmen who advise the Emperor, and a Diet of two Houses (House of Peers and House of Representatives). The Ministers are responsible not to the Diet but to the Emperor. The Council of Elder Statesmen (drawn chiefly from two great families or 'clans') wields great influence and is said to be the real governing power.

In 1894 the modern navy and army of Japan were tested in a war which broke out with China concerning the control of the ancient, independent, but extremely feeble Empire of Korea.

The forces of Japan were completely successful. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki, 17th April 1895, she annexed the island of Formosa and the Liao-Tung Peninsula from China. But the Governments of Russia, Germany, and France made objections to the acquisition of the Liao-Tung ; so the Japanese Government with great prudence and self-restraint, waived its right, and the Liao-Tung Peninsula was left with China. Three years later

(1898) Russia obtained from the Chinese Government a lease for ninety-nine years of Port Arthur, the chief place in the Liao-Tung Peninsula. At the same time Germany obtained a lease of the chief places on the Shantung Peninsula, Kaochow and Tsingtao. Great Britain thereupon obtained a lease of Wei-hai-wei.

Japan had reason to think itself badly treated over the Treaty of Shimonoseki and the Russian acquisition of Port Arthur. She took part with the other Powers in the international expedition of 1900 to relieve the Foreign Legations besieged by the Boxers in Pekin. In 1902 she further strengthened her position

as a world-power by making a Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain. The two Powers agreed to assist each other if either were attacked by more than one State. The object of the Alliance was to maintain the *status quo* in the Far East.

Actually this *status quo* was being vitally affected by the extension of Russian control into Manchuria. By 1901 the Trans-Siberian Railway had been completed from Moscow to Chita on the frontier of China. From Chita Russia, by agreement with the Chinese Government, constructed another line, the ' Chinese Eastern Railway ', moving by way of Manchuria to Vladivostock and Port Arthur. With the growth of Russian influence in Manchuria, Japan had also to watch Russian control increasing daily in Korea. In 1904 both sides felt strong enough for a struggle that appeared certain to come sooner or later. Japan and Russia went to war on the plains of Manchuria and in the Yellow Sea. The result was a surprise to Europe, for the Japanese Army captured Port Arthur (January 1905) and the Japanese Navy defeated the Russian fleet in the great ' Battle of the Sea of Japan ' or Tsushima (May 1905). In the land theatre of war the number of the forces which each State could put on the field was about equal.

The success of Japan in the war was due to the fact that the Japanese were a more united people than the Russians ; their rulers were more public-spirited, so that all branches of the administration, military, naval, diplomatic, political, worked without friction together. On the other hand, while Russian soldiers were fighting with the utmost heroism in Manchuria, and a few able and public-spirited generals and high officials were engaged in titanic labours to keep the military administrative machine running, revolution was breaking out at home.

Peace was arranged between Russia and Japan, through the good offices of President Roosevelt of the United States, at Portsmouth, Maine, on the 29th August 1905. Russia consented to evacuate Manchuria, and to recognize Japan as the preponderating Power in Korea. She also ceded to Japan Port Arthur and the Liao-Tung Peninsula. The terms, in view of the Japanese success in the war, were moderate, but the Mikado's Government

The opening of CHINA
Gobi
Desert of
MANCHURIA
Amur
Kharbin
Moukden
Vladiwostok
Pekin
Port Arthur
Japan
KOREA
Wei-hai-Wei (Br)
Hoang Ho
Kiao-Chou (Gr)
Tokio
CHINA
Nagasaki
JAPAN
Cheng-tu
Nanking
Shanghai
Hankow
Ningpo
Yang-tse Kiang
Chang-sha
B. = British North Borneo
S. = Sarawak
Yun-nan
Amoy
Fu-chow
Na Kiang
Canton
Hong-Kong (Br)
Formosa
PACIFIC
Kwangchowan (Fr)
BURMA
INDO-CHINA
Hainan
Hué
SIAM
Bangkok
Manilla
Phillippine
OCEAN
Islands
Saigon
CHINA SEA
Malay Penin.
English Miles
0 200 400 600 800
SOUTH
B.
S.
Singapore
Borneo
Sumatra
Celebes
Molucas
New Guinea
Java

were wise in desiring to get quit of hostilities before the country's resources were further depleted.

The other great country of the Far East which challenges the imagination even more than Japan is China. There is evidence that China was a State with a Monarch as early as the year 2350 before Christ. After this came a 'Feudal Period' when the country was divided into a large number of territorial lordships. This period lasted for about two thousand years. In 221 B. C. some strong man or men made one united Empire; and the Imperial form of Government endured until the year A. D. 1912. At various times different families or clans arose to dominate the throne; yet, taken as a whole, the political life of China in the Imperial period was wonderfully stable. The chief of the early dynasties were the Sung, which lasted from A. D. 960 to 1279; the Yuan, from 1280 to 1367; and the Ming, from 1368 to 1643. The names of these dynasties are familiar to European collectors of Chinese pottery; no modern manufacturers have been able to match the wonderful blue glazes of the Ming and Sung period. In 1643 China was conquered by Manchurian Tartars, who established themselves as a governing aristocracy and erected one of their own clans, the Ching, to the Imperial throne. The Ching or Manchu Dynasty ruled China until the revolution of 1912. It still lives, under the Republic, peacefully undisturbed, in a palace of its own in the environs of Pekin.

China never encouraged foreigners to come to the 'Flowery Empire' as it was officially called. In the Middle Ages the maritime route from Europe had not been discovered. On the land side the Chinese attempted to screen themselves from barbarians by the Great Wall, which was built about the year 214 B. C. It separates China from Mongolia, and is about 1,500 miles long.

Marco Polo, the Venetian, travelled to Mongolia about the year 1280, and wrote a fascinating book of travels which contains information concerning Medieval China. In 1497 Vasco da Gama opened up the maritime route, around the Cape of Good Hope, which led to India and the Far East. By the year 1635 Portuguese, Dutch, and English ships were doing a little trade with some ports of China like Canton, but communication was very

The Great Wall of China as it crosses the Nankow Pass, with protecting towers every 200 yards

slight. The Russians, after they began to colonize Siberia, towards the end of the sixteenth century, came into touch with the Chinese by the land route, and the Russian Government made a frontier treaty with the Manchu Empire in 1725 (Treaty of Kiatka). In 1792 the British Government sent one of its diplomatists, Lord Macartney, on a mission to Pekin; and for some years before this the British East India Company had been importing opium, for which there was a huge demand, into China. It was because the Chinese Government seized certain stocks of opium belonging to British subjects that hostilities broke out with Great Britain in 1840. A naval war ensued, with the result that in 1842 the Treaty of Nanking was made. The Chinese Government ceded Hong Kong to Great Britain, and opened five ports (Canton, Amoy, Fu-Chau, Ning-po, and Shanghai) to British traders.

In 1857 another war with Great Britain broke forth, owing to Chinese misunderstandings with British subjects. This time Napoleon III joined in the war, and Franco-British troops took the Taku Forts in 1857 and entered Pekin. The result was a further opening of Chinese ports to European commerce. Also the arrangement was made (and is still in force) that a European official should be placed at the head of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service. This official, called Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, has always been an Englishman; the best known was Sir Robert Hart, who devoted his talents to making the service a model of efficiency. Hart died in 1911. The excellent working of the Maritime Customs Service (which is partly staffed by Europeans) has kept China from bankruptcy, and has mitigated the political and financial disorganization that fell upon the country after the year 1912.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Chinese Government, under the eminent statesman, Li Hung Chang, attempted to keep a middle course between restricting communication with the outside world and adopting a limited amount of Western civilization on the other. The war with Japan in 1894, although unsuccessful, made little impression on the ancient Empire. The fanatical 'Boxer' rising in 1900 against foreigners,

The earliest view of Canton Harbour

From Nieuhoff's 'Embassy of the Dutch East India Co.' (1655)

had deeper results. An international army, British, French, German, Russian, Japanese, and American, entered Pekin, and a heavy indemnity was imposed upon the Chinese Government, which ought to have prevented the fanatical Boxers (a secret society) from murdering foreign missionaries and traders. Li Hung Chang died in 1901. Nevertheless Imperial China continued to make progress in a solid way. In 1907 the Government made the trade in opium illegal, and made great headway in suppressing the habit of opium-smoking until the Revolution of 1912 occurred. Meanwhile a considerable number of young Chinese students were being educated in Western ideas by missionary colleges, especially by colleges in China maintained by ministers of religious denominations in the United States. A considerable proportion of these students passed on from China to Europe or America, and studied in the great Western Universities. When they returned to China the impact of Western ideas, especially the ideas of self-government, produced a stir among the educated classes. The Revolution of 1912 was the result. The Manchu Emperor was forced to abdicate. China became a Republic, with a President, a Prime Minister and Cabinet, and a Parliament of two Chambers.

Until 1912 China, under the Manchu Emperor, had been administered by a bureaucracy (or Civil Service) recruited by an elaborate system of competitive examination. Although the mass of the people were uneducated there were a limited number of schools in every province and large city. The best pupils from these institutions could enter for the public examination which the Government conducted in every province for the recruiting of the bureaucracy. The number of candidates who presented themselves for examination every year was very large ; only three or four out of every thousand were successful in getting a post in the administration. The subjects of examination were chiefly Chinese literature and history ; the standard of knowledge shown by the candidates was very high. This system of selection had for over a thousand years produced a careful, conservative service of officials who administered China not unsuccessfully.

The Revolution of 1912 did away with this system. But

before a new system could be established the military class, consisting of any general popular enough to get soldiers to follow him, had seized power in the several provinces ; and for the next fifteen or more years brigand armies levied blackmail in all the inland regions of the country. Only the watch kept by foreign warships, and the European-directed Maritime Customs Service, enabled normal economic life to function in the ports. Nominally the Chinese Government sided with the Entente Powers in the War of 1914–18, but actually it could do nothing. At the Washington Conference of 1921–2 the Pekin Government was treated as an established Power, and was guaranteed from outside intervention, but in the following three years the internal condition of the country showed little improvement. The cultivation of opium, which the Imperial Government had practically suppressed by the end of 1911, was begun again in nearly every province. Thus opium-smoking and the ' drug-habit ' became a scourge not merely to China, but to other countries like the United States into which opium and its products were commonly smuggled.

XXVIII

EUROPE BEFORE THE WAR

BEFORE the War of 1914–18 Europe consisted of six Great Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, France, Italy, and Great Britain); three Secondary Powers (Spain, Sweden, Turkey); and eleven other minor sovereign States. Some of these minor States, like the Balkan States, were possessed of considerable physical power, while others, like Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, although not incapable of defending themselves, relied chiefly on their moral prestige, which was due to their history and their consistent policy. All the States, except perhaps those of the South-east (the Balkan States and Turkey), regarded themselves, in some respects, as forming a community. While acutely sensitive of their sovereign rights, they still recognized that they had a joint responsibility for the maintenance of peace and of civilization on the continent. The Great Powers especially, although armed to the teeth and in deadly apprehension of an attack from their neighbours, nevertheless frequently acted together in a rather loose and informal association called the Concert of Europe.

The chief features of interest in European life in the thirty or forty years before the War were the industrial development (it might almost be called the Industrial Revolution) of Germany, the revival of French morale under the Third Republic, the social and economic consolidation of the Kingdom of Italy; the movement towards expansion overseas, the revolutionary movement in Russia, and the effort to avoid wars by arbitration and mutual agreement and to create some permanent machinery with this object.

After the establishment of the Empire in 1871 Germany enjoyed under three Emperors, William I (who died in 1888), Frederick III (who died three months later, in the same year), and William II, something like a Golden Age. This Golden Age

appears now all the more splendid by contrast with the black misery of the years immediately following upon 1918. The German people have a talent for industry: they are careful, methodical, laborious. The habits of the German commercial *bourgeoisie* are described in Gustav Freytag's fine novel, *Soll und Haben*, first published in 1855. German capacity for organization proved suitable for industry on the large scale; before the nineteenth century ended enormous 'plants' were established, and were being ever extended in the valley and district of the Ruhr, in the Upper Rhineland (Baden, Wurtemberg), in the Silesian coalfield, and elsewhere. An extraordinarily complex system of trade-agreements connected many of the big industrial concerns to each other. Thus the whole of German economic life was scientifically controlled and directed to the production of wealth. The population grew rapidly. A high tariff, introduced in 1878, made it possible for the manufacturers to monopolize nearly the whole of the domestic trade; thus they were able to produce enormous quantities of goods which they could dispose of at comparatively high prices in the home-market, while they could afford to export their surplus goods in large quantities abroad, and to sell them cheaply. This large export trade necessitated the constant search for new markets abroad—a search which the German Government (owing to its military origin and sympathies) was rather inclined to support by military threats and the brandishing of the sword. This produced a feeling of instability in Europe, and was the cause, after the War broke out, of the inflexible determination of the Entente peoples to destroy 'Prussian military domination', and to prevent such circumstances from happening again.

Germany (if it is possible to say such a thing) was almost too well-governed before the War. The successive chancellors, first Bismarck (who retired in 1890), then Caprivi (1890–4), Hohenlohe (1894–1900), then Bülow (1900–9), finally Bethmann-Hollweg (1909–17), carefully fostered the industrial classes, both employers and employed, and made Germany trim and neat and rich. High tariffs ensured the profits of the employers, insurance for old-age, sickness, and accident, ensured a certain degree of

material well-being for the employed. Education, liberal and also technical, was given with great care and skill to everybody. And yet the people lacked spontaneity. They had a Federal Constitution of Emperor, Chancellor, Bundesrat or Council, and Reichstag or Parliament. The Reichstag was elected by universal suffrage, but the Deputies could not control the Imperial Ministers. The Chancellor was responsible not to the Reichstag but to the Emperor. There were, it is true, political parties in the Reichstag, but they could not bring about the fall of a Chancellor or put men in whom they had confidence into office. The German people was thus wholly governed from above. Its entire management was bureaucratic. None of the Chancellors was chosen from among the political leaders of the people. They were all bureaucrats (i. e. civil servants) or soldiers; Bismarck rose in the 'Home' Department, Caprivi was a soldier, Hohenlohe had been a provincial governor, Bülow was in the diplomatic service, Bethmann-Hollweg in the Law Department. The best politicians, like the Liberal Ernst Bassermann (1854–1917), never held office. Thus outside the Junkers, the landed class which supplied all the high civil servants and officers, the German people had little political experience.

In spite of what Carlyle said in his famous letter written during the siege of Paris, France did not sink deeper into anarchy through prolonging her resistance after the fall of the Empire in 1870. On the contrary, she arose from that heroic struggle fortified on the sure foundations of her self-respect.

The Third Republic, with the system of Responsible Parliamentary Government, according to the Constitution of 1875, proved to be solid and stable. Its leaders, the Presidents MacMahon (President 1873–9), Grévy (1879–87), and Carnot (1887–94), the Ministers Gambetta, Ferry, and Freycinet, were cautious but firm in foreign policy, and energetic in home administration. Until 1895 the President was on the whole the most weighty factor in French politics; after that date the Premier had been the dominant office. The last President who tried to control the actions of the Premier and Cabinet was Casimir-Périer, and he recognizing soon that this could not be, resigned from the

Presidency after six months of office, and retired altogether from politics (15th January 1895).

Only once in this period was the internal stability of the Republic seriously menaced. The celebrated attempted *coup d'état* of General Boulanger in 1889 was a farce. He tried to seize the supreme power of government, failed, and fled to find a suicide's death in Brussels two years later. The real danger came in the Dreyfus affair. In 1894 Captain Alfred Dreyfus was sentenced to transportation on a charge of divulging military secrets. As there were grave doubts concerning the justice of the conviction, the case, after prolonged agitation by Émile Zola, Anatole France, and others, was reopened in 1898. The General Staff, and indeed most of the officers of the army, were strenuously opposed to the reopening of the Dreyfus Case. The affair became really a contest, not over the justice of Captain Dreyfus's cause, but over the question of civil or military control of the State. The re-trial of Dreyfus, during the premiership of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, showed the civil power successfully asserting itself; the military element in the State was reduced to its rightful place. Dreyfus himself was not acquitted on the re-trial, but he was soon afterwards released.

All this time the German Empire was the dominant State in Europe. Lord Beaconsfield at the time of the Congress of Berlin had already written that Germany was dominant. This was a purely military ascendancy, due to the size and proportion of the German military machine, and to the callousness with which they threatened to unloose in Europe the horrors of a great war. There was little that was moral in the German ascendancy, no poetry, no art of European fame. In theology and history there were some noted Germans, such as Harnack and Mommsen; and in German chemistry there was high ability. But the only people who could claim something like intellectual pre-eminence and ascendancy in Europe were still the French. The historians of the time of the Third Republic are supreme: Sorel, Vandal, de la Gorce, Luchaire. The French novel is recognized as the artistic model; the Third Republic includes the work of Daudet, Zola, Bourget, Loti, Anatole France. In sculpture there was Rodin,

in painting Manet and Degas, in music Saint-Saëns. The Frenchman, Bergson, shares with the Italian, Croce, the distinction of being the most influential contemporary philosopher. In the ten years before the War the pessimism which people complained of in France during the 'nineties had completely disappeared; a renaissance of the national spirit was taking place. 'France is a country of renaissances', wrote René Bazin in *La Douce France* (1909). The claim was justified: the writings of Bazin, Barrès, and Bordeaux themselves testify to the revival of *La Nouvelle France* in the years 1904–14. The creation of the Entente was another sign of this rejuvenescence.

The union of Italy under the House of Savoy and the attainment of a sound social and economic condition in the State was one of the happiest results of late nineteenth-century history. Old Italy was politically composed of dominions of six minor States (Sardinia, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, the Papal States, and Naples) and one Great Power (Austria, which had the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom). Thus divided, Italy was a notoriously weak place in the European system of States. Its 'morcellation' made it a field for the competition of Great Powers who desired to have influence on the peninsula. There was little probability that the other Great Powers of Europe would permanently acquiesce in the position of exclusive domination which Austria held in Italy. The movement for Union, undertaken by the House of Savoy in conjunction with prominent politicians in all the component States, reached complete success in 1870 when Victor Emmanuel entered Rome. Henceforward no Power outside Italy could hope to establish a sphere of influence there. Italy became solid.

United Italy, however, started under great disadvantages as a Great Power, with the obligation of being able fully to protect itself and to make Italy respected. The country was poor; it had no coal and no iron, in an age when political power depended on industrial wealth. The State was burdened with a large debt, due to the Crimean War and the Wars of Liberation. Patience and hard work, however, triumphed over the natural disadvantages of the country and the legacy of the past struggle.

Bergson

The scientific utilization of water-power, by the strong rivers which flow into Lombardy from the Alps, enabled North Italy, especially Turin and Milan, to become a great industrial region. Intensive cultivation of the rich alluvial soil of the northern plain, of the rich volcanic soil of the south, enabled the country largely to feed itself. The surplus population emigrated in a steady stream to the Argentine and the United States, and sent back large remittances of money to their people at home. Thus Italy was able to obtain a favourable balance of trade ; and under the skilful guidance of finance ministers like Luzzati (born in 1841 and still alive) the credit of the country rose, the interest on the National Debt was reduced, and the exchange value of the lire was about the same as that of the franc, namely twenty-five or twenty-six to the £1 sterling. Unfortunately the courageous and public-spirited King Humbert, who had succeeded his father King Victor Emmanuel II in 1878, was murdered by an anarchist in 1900. Under his son Victor Emmanuel III the State continued to make solid progress until the outbreak of the Great War in 1914.

The rise of two Great Powers (Imperial Germany and the Kingdom of Italy) after 1870, and the revival of one old Great Power, France, made almost inevitable a movement to expand overseas. The young Germany and Italian States were beginning ' to feel their wings ' as world-powers ; and to the French the enterprise of refounding their lost Colonial Empire was a banner of hope in their dejection. Therefore all about the same time are found engaged in a race for colonies.

France had the start ; the Bourbon and Orleans Monarchy of the period 1815–48 had conquered and annexed Algeria. After 1871 France took up the task again with splendid energy. Jules Ferry was the statesman with the vision of overseas empire ; and able French officers, Rivière, de Brazza, Galliéni, and Joffre, won for France Tonkin, the Congo, Madagascar, and Senegal. In 1881 Tripoli had become a French protectorate by the Treaty of Bardo, concluded with the Bey of the country. Failing, through political mistakes, to obtain power in Egypt in 1882, France compensated herself by establishing a complete hegemony along all

the North African coast to the west of Tripoli, until by 1908 she had secured a permanent position in Morocco, and so extended out of the Mediterranean into the Atlantic.

Germany's efforts overseas were mainly directed towards tropical Africa. In 1883 and 1884 the efforts of Dr. Karl Peters and Lüderitz secured large tracts in East and West Africa, important fields for the supply of raw material to German industries at home. Italy, coming into the movement rather later than Germany, had to be content with a colony in the Red Sea (Italian Somaliland or Eritraea). On attempting to penetrate into Abyssinia, in order to establish a sphere of influence there, the Italian Army received a severe defeat at the battle of Adowa (1896). This was the end of the Abyssinian adventure. In 1912, however, Italy by a risky war took Tripoli and Cyrenaica from the Turks, and so became with England and France one of the three North African Powers.

The Partition of Africa had been carried out without wars between the competing Powers largely owing to the rules and agreements made at the Berlin Conference of 1885. Even Belgium, through the enterprise of King Leopold I, obtained control of an enormous territory, called the Congo Free State. Holland retained her ancient colonies, and was and is the predominant State in the islands of the East Indies.

The Revolutionary Movement in Russia was connected with a general revolutionary movement in the rest of Europe, but it was much more organized, much more intense. The various Slavonic peoples who composed the Russian State were, apparently, very difficult to govern. The Tsarist authorities had adopted a system of strict administrative control, without any central representative element in the Government. Under this all-pervading, highly centralized bureaucratic system, order was kept, and the unwieldy country showed signs of considerable material progress. The liberal, kindly Tsar Alexander II freed all the serfs in 1861. Yet the carefulness and strictness of the bureaucracy had, among other results, the effect of driving the elements of opposition underground; and what, under a representative system, would have been constitutional Opposition

Parties or Groups, became revolutionary secret societies. For this kind of subterranean conspiracy, the Russian revolutionaries showed considerable aptitude; but the police authorities developed an almost equal aptitude for discovering them. The police agents were active in searching out conspiracy not merely in Russia, but in the capitals of the rest of Europe where political exiles and fugitives congregated. In Paris, for instance, the Russian police had a regular department for the investigation and detection of Russian political offenders, although it could exercise no powers of compulsion within the French State.

The Russian Revolutionaries were of two different kinds. First, there were Anarchists, who, although they did not originate with Bakhunin (1814–76), were largely fostered by that unpractical thinker. Bakhunin's opinion was that inequality and misery among mankind were due to the existence of authority and privilege. Therefore all compulsion must be abolished; there must be no compulsory law; everybody must be allowed, untrammelled, to follow his own inclinations. Then the natural goodness of men would assert itself. Compulsory law would not be needed, because everybody would naturally do the right thing. In order that everybody might know what was the right thing to do, a liberal education must be universally supplied.

It is obvious, as a criticism of this, that Bakhunin's society of absolutely unregulated people could only be possible in a race of angels; the existence of even only one black sheep would spoil the whole system, because he would have to be compelled not to interfere with the others; and so compulsion would enter into the social system, and with compulsion, privilege and authority.

Yet this doctrine of Anarchism, curiously blind to every consideration of common sense, seemed to have a strong attraction for many Russians. A secret anarchist society probably existed in every large Russian city. From believing that all authority was bad to believing that all authority must be suppressed was only a step; and there were numerous Russians who, with a curious obsession for translating extreme views into concrete action, were ready to assassinate all magistrates. Hence the

numerous atrocious murders of officials, from the Tsar, Alexander II (assassinated in 1881), downwards. Ministers like de Plehve (assassinated in 1904), Stolypin (one of the best of the Tsar's officials, shot in Kiev Theatre in 1911), and the commonest police agents paid the penalty of their zeal at the assassin's hands.

The mild manners and amiable ideals of many Anarchists must not be allowed to obscure their moral responsibility for the awful crimes of their most fanatical members. The first man to make their organization known to Western Europe was Turgeniev, in his novel, *Fathers and Children* (1862).

Quite different from the Anarchists, although often working with them, were the second sort of revolutionists, the Communists. These had no objection to authority, only it must be authority applied to destroying private capital and keeping wealth wholly in the possession of the Proletariat. Russian Communists, like German, were inspired by the writings of Karl Marx. They aspired to transform the existing Russian system—political, social, economical—into an association of Communist groups, which should possess and use all the capital of the country, and govern the country wholly in the interests of the workers. Some great nobles, like Tolstoi (1828–1910), adopted the Communist theory. Many Communists, like the Anarchists, carried on their propaganda from abroad, from Geneva, Berne, or Paris. Among these was the now celebrated Vladimir Oulyanov, better known as Lenin (1870–1924).

The Tsarist régime, as it was organized by Peter the Great, and as it existed until the reign of Nicholas II, made Russia (which was obviously a very difficult country to govern) a finely efficient and progressive State. People were more free than is probably usually understood. In 1861 Alexander II had freed the serfs. The communal land of each village was divided up, and each former serf was given a portion of it as his own property. The bureaucracy was open to any Russian who could satisfy the necessary educational tests. The nobility had no privileges in the military, naval, or civil services. The chief defect in the Russian system was that, owing to the absence of local and central representative institutions, everything was given over to the

bureaucracy; the number of bureaucrats, accordingly, was enormous, and effective supervision of it was difficult; as it grew larger, the average of intellectual ability tended to decline, and corruption and absence of public spirit became marked. A moderate parliamentary system would have supplied a useful supplement to the bureaucratic system, and a wholesome corrective and critic of it. A beginning was made with such a parliamentary institution when the Duma was established in 1907. Unfortunately the Tsarist system collapsed under the strain of the Great War before the Duma had time to take root as an effective organ of the Government. The mistake, probably, which Nicholas II and his advisers made, was in continuing to choose only bureaucrats for Ministers, and in not entrusting more influence to the Duma.

In the last part of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, there was a widely spread movement for international peace. Large and small States share the credit for this almost equally. The Dutch must be given the palm of merit, for it was a Dutchman, Hugo Grotius, who started modern international law, with his *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, in 1625. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Congress of Paris, 1856, at the end of the Crimean War, made two important steps. Firstly, it entered into the agreement known as the Declaration of Paris, defining maritime blockade and the rights of neutrals in sea-borne trade during time of war. Secondly, by the 23rd Protocol, the Congress of Paris enunciated a 'view' (the time was not ripe for an agreement) that any State, *before* going to war, should have recourse to the good offices of the Third Party, to see if quarrels could be settled peacefully.

After this, there was the Geneva Convention (1864), which made certain humane regulations for the conduct of war. The course of international arbitration was strongly supported by the British Government, which submitted many important cases to an arbitral court set up for each occasion; for instance, in the affair of the *Alabama* (1871), of the Venezuela Boundary (1899), and the North Sea incident (1904). This last was a particularly good example of avoidance of war by arbitration. The Russian

fleet was on its way to the Far East, to fight Japan in the war in which Britain was neutral, although an ally of Japan. In a moment of panic, the Russian fleet opened fire on British fishing-boats off the Dogger Bank, and killed some of the helpless sailors. Public opinion in Great Britain was naturally aroused, all the more so as the Russian naval authorities refused to admit that they had acted without due cause. The British Government, however, refrained from sending an ultimatum, and agreed to submit the case to arbitration. A Court was set up at Paris, and damages were awarded to the British fishermen.

A powerful impetus in favour of the peace movement was given by the Tsar, Nicholas II, in the celebrated circular, issued on the 24th August 1898, proposing an international conference on disarmament. The proposal resulted in two Conferences held at the Hague in 1899 and 1908. It was found impossible to conclude an international agreement on the limitation of military and naval forces, but several important rules were adopted for ameliorating the conduct of war, particularly in regard to the treatment of the civilian inhabitants of an invaded country, and in regard to prisoners.

These continual efforts were helping to create a ' peace atmosphere ' which was not sufficient to prevent the War of 1914, but which, when the war was over, provided a medium in which the newly created League of Nations could work and thrive.

In European politics the most prominent feature of the nineteenth century was the progress of the constitutional idea. This was largely due to the admiration which the English system of parliamentary government evoked ever since the early years of the eighteenth century. It was the constitutional idea that made British statesmen friendly to European political movements. Thus the Conservative George Canning, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1822 to 1827 and Prime Minister in 1827, encouraged the constitutional parties in Spain and Portugal. The Liberal Minister, Lord Palmerston, Secretary of State during the greater part of the period 1830 to 1865, followed in Canning's steps, and favoured the movement for the union of Italy, largely because it was a movement actuated by liberal

and constitutional views. Mr. Gladstone, four times Prime Minister (1869–74, 1880–5, 1886, 1892–4), held the same views, and tried to put them into effect by his Home Rule Bills for Ireland. By the end of the nineteenth century every State in Europe had some form of Constitutional Government except Austria, Germany, and Russia. In the British Empire the system, under the name of Responsible Government, had been extended to Canada in 1846, to the Australian Colonies (except Western Australia) in 1855, and to Cape Colony in 1872. The early twentieth century was to witness almost the completion of the process, with Constitutional Government established at last in Austria and Germany, although not in Post-Revolutionary Russia.

Supplementary Dates.

XXVIII

1805 Öhlenschlager's *Hàkon Jarl.*
1809 Kriloff's *Fables.*
1830 Early poems of Pushkin.
1831 Pushkin's *Eugène Oniéguine.*
1834 Mickiewicz's *Thaddeus.*
1835 *Kalevala,* the Finnish epic, is edited.
1836 Josika, a Magyar, writes his first novel, *Abafi.*
Palacky publishes *The History of Bohemia.*
1842 Gogol's *Dead Souls.*
1850 *Catalina,* Ibsen's first play.
1852 Turgeniev's *Sketches of a Hunter.*
1877 Ibsen's *Pillars of Society.*
1880 Verdi's *Aida.*
1884 Dvořák's *Stabat Mater.*
1885 Tolstoi's *My Religion.*
1893 Tchaikowsky's *Pathetic Symphony.*
1894 Anton Tchekhoff's *In the Twilight.*
Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel.*
1897 D'Annunzio's *Triumph of Death.*
1898 Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac.*
Rodin's statue of Balzac.

XXIX

THE OUTBREAK

THE War came both suddenly and slowly; that is to say, conditions which seemed likely to produce war had been in existence for years, and the likelihood seemed to be yearly growing greater. Nevertheless, when the war-crisis arose in the summer of 1914 and within twelve days (22 July–3 August) produced hostilities on the grandest scale, the world was taken by surprise.

The period of European History from 1871 to 1914 is called by continental historians the period of the Armed Peace. The war of 1870–1 had established Germany as a great military Power. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by her had made it necessary for Germany to keep her forces on something like a war footing after the war was over. She must always be on the alert; prepared to defend Alsace and Lorraine. This shows how the annexation had given a wound to the European System and how it produced international instability for the next forty years. Germany remained fully armed to retain Alsace-Lorraine from France. France remained fully armed in case she should again be faced with a German war. Italy, a new Great Power, had to be fully armed in case Austria should remember the lost Italian provinces; and Austria, still possessing Italian regions on one side, and Slavonic regions on the other, had to keep herself fully armed to meet a possible war with Italy or Russia. Great Britain, in the same way, exposed to possible attack by the expansive might of Germany, kept herself fully armed, on the sea at least; owing to her insular situation she was not compelled to maintain an army on the continental scale. But the other Powers—Russia, and the Secondary States—were not so fortunate: they were continental: they were exposed to the possible invasions of heavily armed neighbours. So they, too, had to keep enormous numbers of men under arms. In spite of its outwardly pleasant life, its towns and markets, its

villages and *châteaux*, its watering-places, museums, universities, and churches—beneath this pleasantness of *bourgeois* existence, Europe was an armed camp. In Germany there was no need to look below the surface: militarism was there, staring every casual visitor in the face. Officers formed a large proportion of the passers-by on the pavement; the drill-ground was as common as the public park.

There is a tendency now to say that the cry against German militarism was merely a natural piece of English and French propaganda during the late war. It was not so. Militarism was frightfully prominent in the German Empire. It was the misfortune of the Germans that, owing to the warlike origin of their Empire, and particularly owing to the holding of Alsace-Lorraine, the Empire from the start was in a position of defiance of the rest of Europe, a position of relying only on the strong hand, of justifying itself by force. The success of the Imperial movement from 1864 to 1870, and the obvious necessity of guarding the gains of 1870 by arms, enabled all these people who believed in force, the Junkers, to turn round upon the rest and say: 'You see, we were right; this is a world in which force counts, in which the arms of a people must be strong and ready to smite.' To this reasoning the most moderate, peaceful, liberal elements in Germany failed to reply; there were large numbers of such people—nearly all the middle-classes, in fact. But they surrendered their judgement to the militarists, and allowed themselves to be led by them. Military Germany was so strong, so successful, that the moderate-minded Germans gave in, convinced, as it seemed, by the logic of facts.

But this condition of affairs could not go on for ever. Europe could not permanently acquiesce in a German military domination. On several occasions the German Government continued to get what it wanted by rattling the sword, but there was bound, in time, to be a reaction. Then, as the reaction in the rest of Europe against German militarism became stronger, the German Government became anxious for its safety. Hence came the feeling in Germany that the country was being 'encircled', pressed upon, and that it was some day to be attacked in a war

for existence. Out of this nervous feeling came the sudden *riposte* of Germany, the War of 1914.

The peace of Europe depended upon the Great Powers. Small States could start wars, but these wars could always be restricted locally, provided that the Great Powers refused to fight. Whenever the Great Powers acted 'in concert' the result was peace. But they could not act in concert continuously because their interests were divergent. To some extent colonial rivalry divided them, but the greatest divider was Alsace-Lorraine. Germany had to remain always on guard, always in a feeling of antagonism to France and Powers sympathetic to France. Thus it came about that, gradually, the Great Powers divided themselves into two Groups—the Triple Alliance and the Entente.

The *Triplice* or Triple Alliance Group was the first to be formed. It arose out of a Dual Alliance, made by Germany and Austria, in 1879; Austria feared war with Russia: Germany feared war with France: therefore the two Powers made the Dual or Bismarck-Andrassy Alliance. It endured until 1918.

In 1882 Austria and Germany were joined by Italy. Thus the Triple Alliance was formed. The idea underlying it was good. Italy would have liked to force Austria to give up Trent and Trieste (*Italia irredenta*); but she could not do this: Austria was too strong. Therefore the next best thing was to be on good terms with Austria, and to get whatever concessions she could by agreement.

The Triple Alliance was not very dangerous to European peace. Its terms, which have been published, are seen to have been purely defensive. The real danger came from the solidarity of Austria and Germany under the Bismarck-Andrassy Alliance. Central Europe became almost a single military unit.

Faced with this state of affairs the French Government felt nearly helpless. It was made particularly anxious by reason of the continually diminishing birth-rate of France. With the French population growing smaller, and the German population and army growing rapidly larger, France seemed to be really in danger of some day being overwhelmed. So France looked out for a possible ally, and found one in Russia, a country which,

racially, was unsympathetic towards Germany, and which, on the other hand, was glad to get French capital. In 1894 the Franco-Russian Alliance was made.

After this England began to associate herself with the continental grouping. Since 1878 the British Government had been holding somewhat aloof from Europe. Lord Salisbury's *Splendid Isolation* phrase had the usual effect of brilliant phrases: it prevented people from thinking. The South African War in 1899, however, made people think. The German Fleet had been growing at a tremendous rate for ten years. Against whom could it be directed? Only against England (so it was argued), for England was the only Power against which a large navy could decide the fortunes of war: all the other Powers were Land-Powers. So the British Government, after the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, began to come out of its isolation; and under the direction of King Edward VII, who was a statesman with a European outlook, the Dual Entente, the *Entente Cordiale*, of Great Britain and France was formed in 1904. On the French side, the chief mover was M. Delcassé, who had also made the Franco-Russian Alliance. The completion of the Entente grouping therefore came naturally a few years later, when Russia entered into the cordial entente in 1907.

In spite of these two, apparently, opposed diplomatic groups, the Triplice and the Entente, the Powers not infrequently met in concert, and by mutual agreement adjusted crises which had arisen in Europe. The last occasion in which the Concert met before the Great War was in May 1913, in London. Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro had joined in a Balkan League, chiefly owing to the efforts of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria and M. Venizelos, Premier of Greece. The League had in 1912 demanded that Turkey should carry into effect Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin, concerning reforms in Macedonia (see p. 698). This demand produced the Balkan War of 1912–13, in which the States of the Balkan League severely defeated Turkey. A conference of the Great Powers and the Belligerent States was held in London at the end of the war, and the Treaty of London, 30th May 1913, was concluded, reducing Turkey in Europe to

the territory east of the Enos-Midia line. The Treaty, however, came to nothing, as the Balkan League broke up, and fought within itself—Bulgaria against the other three. The Second Balkan War (1913) lasted only about a month, and was terminated through the military intervention of Roumania. The Final Peace was signed at Bucharest, 10th August 1913, without the European Concert taking any part. Greece gained Salonica ; Serbia acquired most of Turkish Macedonia ; Bulgaria (vanquished in the Second Balkan War) received only a minor share of the old Turkish territories.

The Peace of Bucharest left conditions in the Balkans very unstable, for Bulgaria and Turkey were resolved to have their revenge ; and Serbia, owing to her extension of territory, seemed nearer than ever to a conflict with Austria. This conflict came rapidly after the murder of the heir to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, with his wife, at Sarajevo in Bosnia on the 28th June 1914. The murders were believed in Austria to be due to Serbians. The Austrian ultimatum of the 23rd July followed, and then came the invasion of Serbia. The outbreak of the Austro-Serbian War determined the Russian Government to mobilize its army. This led to the German ultimatum to Russia on the 31st July. Russia was the ally of France. So Germany, in going to war with Russia, went to war with France, striking at her through Belgium on 4th August, rapidly after the murder at Serajevo.

The whole truth concerning this atrocious deed has never been made clear. Bosnia and Herzegovina were two Turkish provinces which Austria had received to administer, but not to own, at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The provinces remained nominally under Turkish sovereignty. In 1908, without asking leave of the other Powers who had signed the Berlin Treaty, Austria impudently annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and defied the rest of Europe. This unfortunate incident was somehow smoothed over, for Germany was clearly supporting Austria ; the other Powers, therefore, merely made general protests. But for a few weeks the decision for war or peace between Serbia and Austria had literally trembled on the balance. For Bosnia and

Herzegovina had a population of whom the majority were of Serbian blood; and, had these two provinces continued, even only nominally, under the sovereignty of Turkey, they might one day have been gained by the Serbian Kingdom from the decadent Turkish State. But once Bosnia and Herzegovina had been absolutely annexed by the powerful Empire of Austria, there was little chance of Serbia ever getting them.

The 'annexation crisis' of 1908 left Austro-Serbian relations very disturbed. The Serbian Government behaved correctly, but many Serbs privately spoke and wrote against Habsburg domination over 'Jugo-Slav'[1] people in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Croatia.

In June 1914 the heir-apparent to the throne of Austria-Hungary, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand (nephew of the Emperor Francis Joseph), and his wife were paying a State visit to Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. On Sunday, the 28th June, they were both assassinated in their motor-car as they drove through the crowded streets. The murderer was an Austrian subject, a Bosnian named Gabrilo Prinzip, who had lived for some time in exile at Belgrade. He was one of those mad, morose, fanatical nationalists who in every country have done so much damage to the cause of sane, moderate politics.

The Austrian Government chose to regard this frightful tragedy as due, not indeed directly to the Serbian Government, but to the agitation which for years had been going on against Austria in Serbian newspapers and speeches. Austria consequently made explicit demands that the Serbian Government should take immediate steps to stamp out this agitation. But it also went farther—it demanded that Serbia should admit Austrian officials into the country, to help to find out the agitators and to bring them to punishment. This demand was contained in the famous ultimatum presented by the Austrian Minister at Belgrade to the Serbian Government on Thursday, the 23rd July, at 6 p.m. The ultimatum demanded that the Serbian Government should (1) forbid all the anti-Austrian publications,

[1] Jugo-Slav means Southern Slav, which is the name which the Serbs gave to all neighbouring peoples who were of close kindred with them.

Note. Monte. = Montenegro.

(2) dissolve a political club or society called the *Narodna Odbrana*, (3) prevent any anti-Austrian ideas or remarks in the public instruction in the schools, (4) allow the Austrian Government to name Serbian military officers and civil functionaries guilty of anti-Austrian propaganda and to have them dismissed, and (5) admit Austrian officials into Serbia to help to suppress the movement or agitation against Austria-Hungary.

The Serbian Government was only allowed forty-eight hours in which to reply to this ultimatum. Thus it had no time to try and negotiate about these demands, which were more than a sovereign State could accept if it was to retain its independence. The Serbian Government did, however, accept the first four demands; with regard to the fifth, it replied—

> The Royal [Serbian] Government confesses that it is not clear about the sense and the scope of that demand of the Imperial and Royal [Austrian] Government which concerns the obligation on the part of the Royal Serbian Government to permit the co-operation of officials of the I. and R. Government on Serbian territory; but it declares that it is willing to accept every co-operation which does not run counter to international law and criminal law, as well as to friendly and neighbourly relations.

M. Pashitch, the Serbian Premier, handed this reply to the Austrian Minister at the Legation in Belgrade at 5.45 p.m. on the 25th July. Almost as soon as he had got back to his office he received a note from the Austrian Minister, stating that the reply to the ultimatum was unsatisfactory, and that diplomatic relations between Austria and Serbia were now severed. On the 29th July Austrian guns bombarded Belgrade. So the war had begun on the Danube and the Save.

It was well known in Europe that if Austria persisted in her demands on Serbia, and went to war, Russia would almost certainly intervene. For Russia, as the chief Slavonic Power, could scarcely be expected to look on quietly while Serbia was crushed. Actually, on the same day as the bombardment of Belgrade began, the troops in the Russian military districts contiguous to the Austrian frontier were mobilized. Now, by the Austro-German Dual Alliance of 1879, Germany was bound to

go to the assistance of Austria if Austria were attacked by Russia. And by the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1894 France was bound to go to the assistance of Russia if Russia were attacked by Germany. The Austrian Government was well aware of these facts; therefore when it decided to go to war with Serbia it was deliberately undertaking the responsibility for a general European war.

But it must share this responsibility with Germany, which indeed was really the major partner in the guilt. There are four respects in which Germany must be held principally guilty for the calamity that now came upon Europe.

First, Germany by forcibly annexing Alsace-Lorraine from France in 1871, a conquest which she thereafter was always fearful of losing, and always alert to defend, had established militarism in the European atmosphere: she had imposed upon Europe the system of 'armed peace', where huge conscript armies looked at each other across unstable frontiers.

Secondly, the German Government, as early as the 18th July,[1] knew of the terms of the ultimatum which the Austrian Government was going to present to Serbia, and she did not use her influence, as she could have done, to prevent the ultimatum being sent. If the German Government had said emphatically: 'We will not support you by arms in a war involved through your attacking Serbia,' then the Austrian Government would never, single-handed, have gone on to its destruction.

Thirdly, on the Austro-Serbian crisis becoming acute, but before hostilities had actually begun, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, proposed that a European conference should be assembled to arrange for a peaceful solution. Such conferences of the Great Powers had frequently before solved serious international crises, and would probably, if only by delaying matters and allowing passions to cool, have solved this crisis. But the German Government declined the British proposal, on the ground that such a con-

[1] For the evidence of Germany's knowledge (chiefly a letter from the Bavarian Minister at Berlin to the Munich Government, 18 July 1918), see Mowat, *A History of European Diplomacy*, 1815–1914, p. 292.

ference ' could not be brought together except at the request of Austria and Russia ' (27 July). This answer was in fact an absolute refusal, because Austria, by letting the ultimatum time-limit expire on the 25th July, had already practically gone to war, and had shown that she would not ask for a conference.

Finally, Germany is clearly responsible for taking the last step in making a general war absolutely inevitable, by deliberately perpetrating the most shameless breach of the law of nations that has occurred in a hundred years. The British Government,

Leopold I *Leopold II* *Albert*

1831–65 *1869–1909* *1909-*

The Belgian Dynasty

knowing that the small neutral country of Belgium lay as a temptingly easy route between France and Germany, asked for assurances from these two States that they would not violate Belgian neutrality if they undertook military operations. On the 31st July the French Government gave the assurance asked for : the German Government declined.

On the 31st July the German Government demanded that Russia should demobilize her troops. This demand being rejected, Germany declared war on Russia on the 1st August. On the 2nd August, German troops, obviously with the intention of invading France, penetrated into the neutral State of Luxemburg, of whose neutrality Prussia was itself a guarantor. The French Government, to make perfectly clear that France was not the aggressor, withdrew all its troops to a distance of ten kilometres (seven miles) behind its frontier : thus there could be

no contest, no chance shots, between the French and German frontier pickets. On the 3rd August at 6.45 p.m. the German Government declared the existence of a state of war with France;

BY THE KING.

A PROCLAMATION

For Calling Out the Army Reserve and Embodying the Territorial Force.

GEORGE R.I.

WHEREAS by the Reserve Forces Act, 1882, it is, amongst other things, enacted that in case of imminent national danger or of great emergency it shall be lawful for Us by Proclamation, the occasion having first been communicated to Parliament, to order that the Army Reserve shall be called out on permanent service, and by any such Proclamation to order a Secretary of State from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for calling out the forces or force mentioned in the Proclamation or all or any of the men belonging thereto:

AND WHEREAS the present state of Public Affairs and the extent of the demands on Our Military Forces for the protection of the interests of the Empire do in Our opinion, constitute a case of great emergency within the meaning of the said Act and We have communicated the same to Parliament:

AND WHEREAS by the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907, it is, amongst other things, enacted that immediately upon and by virtue of the issue of a Proclamation ordering the Army Reserve to be called out on permanent service it shall be lawful for Us to order Our Army Council from time to time to give and when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for embodying all or any part of the Territorial Force and in particular to make such special arrangements as they think proper with regard to units or individuals whose services may be required in other than a Military capacity:

NOW, THEREFORE, We do in pursuance of the Reserve Forces Act, 1882, hereby order that Our Army Reserve be called out on permanent service, and We do hereby order the Right Honourable Herbert Henry Asquith, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, from time to time to give and when given to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for calling out Our Army Reserve or all or any of the men belonging thereto.

AND We do hereby further order Our Army Council from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for embodying all or any part of the Territorial Force, and in particular to make such special arrangements as they think proper with regard to units or individuals whose services may be required in other than a Military capacity.

Given at Our Court at Buckingham Palace, this Fourth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, and in the Fifth year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

and on the morning of the 4th August German troops penetrated into Belgium. In the greatest speech which he ever made, Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had on the 3rd August, in the House of Commons, stated that Great Britain could not permit an attack on France through Belgium. As he was ending his speech, a telegram was brought to the House,

intimating that the German Government had sent an ultimatum to Belgium.

Next day, the 4th August, while the German troops and siege guns were actually traversing Belgian soil, on the way to attack Liége, the British Ambassador in Berlin called, as instructed by Sir Edward Grey, on the German Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg. He asked for an assurance that Belgian neutrality would be respected by Germany, otherwise he was instructed to ask for his passports. Sir Edward Goschen's own words give the conclusion of the whole matter :

> I found the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted for about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by His Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree ; just for a word—' neutrality ', a word which in war time had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to make friends with her.

The ' scrap of paper ' (signed by Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia) was as follows : *Belgium, within the limits specified, shall form an Independent and perpetually Neutral State.* Scrap though it was, it was one of the cardinal hinges of the European system of peace and security. It was to defend this system that the Allies fought with the Central Powers for the next four years.

XXX

THE GREAT WAR

1914

When on 31st July 1914 the Austrian and Russian Governments decreed full mobilization of their armed forces, and the German Government proclaimed 'imminent danger of war', a great European conflict became almost a certainty. Sir Edward Grey, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, sent identical inquiries to the German and French Governments, asking them if they would respect the neutral state of Belgium. The French Government replied in the affirmative. The German Government stated its inability to give a direct answer, on the ground that to do so would disclose part of its plan of campaign. The invasion of Belgium by German troops took place three days later. On the 1st August Germany declared war upon Russia, upon France on the 3rd.

The Franco-German frontier from Luxembourg to Switzerland was heavily fortified. The Germans could not have stormed their way past the French eastern fortresses without incurring terrible losses. The Franco-Belgian frontier, on the other hand, was not fortified, because the French, naturally, relied on respect for the neutrality of Belgium, guaranteed by Prussia as well as by France and other states. No possible explanations can ever condone the cynical disregard of treaties, the brutal violation of a peaceful neighbour, involved in the German invasion of Belgium.

The first shock of the European war was taken by the Belgian garrison of Liége commanded by General Leman, a studious soldier who had for years been expecting some such calamity. The German big guns battered down the forts of Liége, but not before the German forces had been delayed some nine or ten days—just enough to prevent the French from being taken completely by surprise through the Germans' treacherous march across Belgium. Brussels was taken, undefended, on the 20th August. The last forts of Namur fell on the 26th August. The Belgian army retired upon Antwerp (which they held until forced to evacuate on the 9th October). The German armies in their passage treated

the civil population in certain places with brutality. The ancient and priceless library of Louvain was blown up deliberately as a warning to the Belgians to change their unfriendly attitude. How could they, when their happiness had been ruined to suit the convenience of the German plan of campaign?

With Belgium being overrun by German armies, it was the duty of the French to come up to the support of the Belgians. The British Expeditionary Force, commanded by Sir John French, was landed in Northern France, and came to join the line of the French. On the 23rd August the British—about 80,000 men—came into touch with the Germans near Mons, just over the Belgian frontier. On that day, however, the German armies had broken the line of the French armies which had entered Belgium and were operating in the Sambre-Meuse region around Charleroi. General Joffre, commander-in-chief of the French, had now to conduct the most difficult operation in modern war—the retreat of great armies, with all their vast masses of men, guns, and supplies, hotly pursued by a victorious and well-led enemy. The British had also to face the depressing duty of retreat, and the agonizing prospect of total rout; for the Germans, with the right tactical instinct, concentrated large masses against the two British divisions (Smith-Dorrien's and Haig's), with the object of achieving the dramatic success of their capture. Two desperate battles at Guise and Le Cateau enabled the British, though losing many men killed or made prisoners, to retreat unbroken to the Marne. General Joffre kept the French armies together during the dreadful retreat; and inferring that the hastening German forces had perhaps gone rather far beyond their supplies, and hearing, from his aeroplane-observers, that one of the chief German armies had 'swerved' for some big tactical operation, he gave the order to stop and strike. The Battle of the Marne, fought with incomparable dash by the wearied, bleeding, but unbeaten French and British armies, saved Paris, France, and Western Europe from Prussian military domination (6–12 September). The German armies were stopped in their advance, and then forced to retire to the Aisne. Far away, in East Prussia, a Russian invasion had done something, perhaps decisive, to lessen the pressure upon

The Remains of Zonnebeke Village, 1917

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France ; but the effort ended with the total defeat of General Samsonoff at the hands of Field-Marshal von Hindenburg in the marshes around Tannenberg on the 26th August. Fifty thousand Russians fell with their general.

In the early months of the War the operations were 'moving battles' ; but soon, on the Western Front at least, the lines of battle became rigid. Every army instinctively tries to outflank its opponent. The facing German and Franco-British armies pushed out troops to either side, hastily digging trenches to protect themselves, until the contending forces each reached the sea on the one hand, the frontier of Switzerland on the other, at the same time. The Belgians held the extreme left of the Allies' (or Franco-British) front ; next came the British for some sixty or seventy miles (in the later stages of the War they held about 150 out of 500 miles of battle-front). The French held all the rest. The Belgian army fought on Belgian soil, in the extreme corner, by the Yser river ; the British soldiers held Ypres in Belgium and some sectors of the line in France towards the Somme. Tremendous efforts of the Germans to break through the British line at Ypres in October, and to storm their way through the flooded Belgian lines on the Yser, just failed. It is impossible to distinguish between the degree of courage on both sides—the impetuosity and persistence of the German attacks, the constancy and endurance of the Allies' defence : both sides fought with the spirit of self-sacrifice, stronger than death, which is the crowning glory of mankind.

Austrian and Russian armies struggled in the mud of Galicia. An Austrian army invaded Serbia and occupied Belgrade. It pushed on to Valievo, and was defeated by the Serbs there on the 1st December.

The war on land was, so far, 'stalemate'. The great German Navy, however, accomplished almost nothing. On the 1st November Admiral von Spee caught the British Pacific Squadron silhouetted against the sky-line near Coronel, on the coast of Chile. Two British cruisers were destroyed ; Admiral Cradock and 1,650 men lost their lives. It was the first battle that the German Navy had ever fought. Not for long did it keep its laurels. A British

squadron, nicely calculated to have sufficient strength, went out from home under Sir Doveton Sturdee. Admiral von Spee had rounded Cape Horn and was resting by the Falkland Islands. On the 8th December Sturdee sank the whole German squadron. Von Spee went down with his ship. British boats picked up 200 drowning Germans. There were now no German ships left on the high seas except a few nimble commerce-destroyers, which one by one met their doom.

1915

When the new year opened the only prospect that could be discerned in front of Europe was death and desolation. The most populous and wealthy states of the world (outside America) were employing all their resources in training and equipping colossal armies and thrusting them into the line to engage in systematic, wholesale destruction. The object of each side was simply to break the 'will-to-resist' of the other side; and there was no other way to do this than by destroying the men and the commodities of the opposing states. The Allies, taken altogether, had more men and more wealth than the Central Powers, and therefore could last longer. Accordingly, if they had simply held their lines on the Western Front, in three years the Central Powers would have collapsed through exhaustion, or would have given way before a determined thrust. The French and British generals, however, still believed in the theory which prevailed in the old days when fighting was done with single armies on a shifting front; they still held that the only way to success was for one army to destroy the opposing army. For the Germans and Austrians, indeed, this was the only way to success, because time was not on their side. Therefore the massed and costly German attacks on the British line at Ypres (April 1915)—when they introduced poison-gas into warfare—were sound strategy, and nearly succeeded; but the equally (or more) costly British and French attacks at Neuve Chapelle (10 March), Loos (25 September) and elsewhere on the west, were probably sheer waste. They gained no ground that was worth anything. They cost more lives to the attackers than to the defenders. They could

not even be justified on the explanation that an army in war must be led to the attack, or it will lose the ' offensive spirit '. There were plenty of opportunities for keeping keen the offensive spirit in the minor operations of trench-warfare, at which both sides became very expert. In the great battles of 1915 the flower of the British and French nations, the mature volunteers and the eager boys fresh from school, were consumed in the pitiless furnace of a war which would have been won without their loving but hopeless sacrifice.

The Dardanelles campaign was a magnificent effort made chiefly by Great Britain to end the war by *coup de main*. Turkey had joined the Central Powers in October 1914, after having (contrary to the Law of Nations) admitted two fugitive German cruisers, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, through the Straits into the Sea of Marmara. The entrance of Turkey into the War brought about the blockade of Russia, for the Turks sealed the exit of the Black Sea. On the extreme north Russia had Archangel, a port which ice closed all winter ; and Kola, a small ice-free port, but far from all the centres of Russian trade and government.

It has always proved to be impossible to organize a large-scale expedition for a distant (especially for an overseas) objective, so as to start at the appointed time. When the transports of the Dardanelles army arrived off Gallipoli (April), they found the Peninsula occupied and fortified by a large Turkish army directed by the German general, Liman von Sanders. The decision of the British High Command to make the chief attack on or near the steep ' nose ' of Gallipoli has been adversely criticized, for there were more accessible beaches farther to the north. The wonderful landing of the troops and their scrambling up rocky, broken cliffs under torrents of machine-gun fire are among the amazing heroisms of the long heroic tragedy of the War. For over eight months the troops, chiefly from Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, with some French European troops and Senegalese, and a small number of Russians, held their own on the barren plateau just above the sea. Attempts of the Navy to force its way through the Dardanelles were costly failures. Devastated by heat, lack of water, and by Turkish gunfire, the Allied Army yet

managed to improve its positions from week to week ; but the drain upon the Allies' resources (the drain fell almost entirely upon Great Britain) was so heavy that the British Cabinet decided upon evacuation. On the 8th January 1916 the troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula were cleverly withdrawn. When the war-worn but vigilant Turks sent shots through the grey dawn to the British lines they had no answer. Constantinople was now safe from the invaders.

The only certain useful result which can be imputed to the Dardanelles campaign is that it heartened Russia at the time of her deepest dejection. The Russian armies which had been fighting in Galicia through the winter of 1914–15 reached the Carpathian ridge in early summer, and were descending into the Hungarian plain when Marshal von Mackensen struck. The Austrians, determined but not very skilful fighters, had been strengthened by some German divisions led by von Mackensen. On the 28th April he broke one Russian army by an attack launched along the line of the Dunajec river. This was the beginning of a long, agonizing series of Russian defeats and retreats. The Russians lost at least a million men, killed or made prisoners. The Russian armies (many of the men were said to have no rifles, simply sticks), routed and devastated, were somehow kept together until they reached in September territory which they could hold amid the marshes of the River Prepet in West Russia. The armies were re-formed and, by incredible exertions on the part of Great Britain, re-munitioned, but Russia never really recovered the full measure of her fighting strength.

The prospects left by the events of 1915 were hopeful and cheering for the Central Powers ; depressing, almost hopeless, for the Allies. In October Bulgaria had suddenly joined the Central Powers and by a flank attack had ruined the defence which the Serbs were making against Austria. The whole of Serbia was conquered ; fragments of the Serbian army escaped through the mountains of Albania to the Allies' ships on the Adriatic. A Franco-British expeditionary force was hastily landed on Greek territory at Salonica (5 October), perhaps just in time to prevent the Bulgarians from marching through to that port. The only real gleam of sunshine on the Allies' side was the intervention of

Italy, which on the 23rd May declared war upon Austria after demanding and failing to receive the cession of Austrian territories which had inhabitants of Italian race.

On the side of the Central Powers there was ground for anxiety. Austria was financially and economically weak. Bread was becoming scarce. The unwieldy Austrian bureaucracy worked very inefficiently in administering the war system of food-rationing. The Czech leaders, Drs. Masaryk and Benes, from London and Paris, were organizing a subtle and pervasive propaganda among the large numbers of Czech troops in the Austrian armies. Conditions in Germany were brighter than in Austria, but even the German scheme for food-rations was not successful, and there was much discontent among the workers. The German 'war-map' was extremely favourable to the Central Powers; their armies were fighting on the enemies' territory on every front except in a small hilly sector of the Austro-Italian theatre of war. German troops occupied nine departments of France, nearly all Belgium, including the capital (Brussels) and the port of Antwerp, and Poland, including the capital, Warsaw; German-Austrian troops held Serbia and Montenegro, including the capitals Belgrade and Cettinje; and in the following year (1916) they were to occupy Bucharest, the capital of Roumania. Although, however, entrenched on enemy soil, the German-Austrian armies were far from their bases of supply; their communications lay over long land-routes. The Allies had the sea, and could shift their bases at will, and could draw their supplies from the entire neutral world. Splendid as was the Germans' war-map, their only chance lay in speed, in a quick decision. The decided refusal of the Allies to consider overtures for peace (except on practically surrender-terms), and their grim and valiant holding to their lines, gave the German and Austrian Governments (although their peoples did not know it) cause for serious disquiet.

1916

It was probably a correct strategy which induced the German General Staff to decide to attack the Verdun lines. The advance through Belgium into France had really failed. The Franco-

British lines in the Somme district were now rigid and impenetrable. If the French line at Verdun in the valley of the Meuse could be forced, the German armies would find a short and direct route to Paris. On the 21st February the first intensive German attack was launched at Verdun ; and as always happened in an attack, the first surprise, the overwhelming use of gas and shell, the pitiless flinging in of division after division, resulted in a gain of two or three miles. Soon, however, French counter-attacks, and the massing of French heavy artillery in the dangerous sector, checked the German advance. Thenceforward for over four dreadful months the attack and counter-attack went on. German courage, persistence, men, and munitions seemed inexhaustible ; the French could not last for ever, although every night through the darkness an endless chain of motor trucks and lorries, along the *Voie sacrée*, poured men and munitions into the wavering line. At last, on the 1st July, after long and carefully concealed preparation, a great Franco-British attack was launched, about a hundred miles to the north-west, on the Somme front. The battles of the Somme, nearly as costly to the Allies as were the Verdun attacks to the Germans, at any rate saved Verdun by drawing away German forces. They gained very little ground of any strategic value on the Somme, but they displayed to the Germans for the first time the massive strength and magnificent ardour of the huge volunteer armies which for eighteen months Lord Kitchener had been carefully preparing. The heroic troops went forward to death on the barbed wire in face of the machine-guns of the enemy, day after day, until November mud rendered impossible for a time the outpouring of blood either on the Somme or at Verdun. The year 1916 seemed to decide nothing. On the Italian and Austrian fronts the attacks and counter-attacks left little change on the balance. Farther east, Roumania, attracted by hopes of conquering all the 'Rouman inhabited' parts of Hungary, joined the Allies, crossed the Carpathians, and invaded Transylvania (August). The wonderful German General Staff found the men and munitions for a great 'drive' against this new enemy. The Roumanian army was rolled back over the Carpathian passes into Wallachia and out

of it. Bucharest was occupied by German troops. The Roumanian forces had no rest until they reached the line of the Sereth valley in Moldavia.

Even on sea the Germans showed power which shook, though it did not break, the foundations of British Naval supremacy. Admiral von Sheer brought the High Seas Fleet out of the estuary of the Elbe and accepted battle from Admiral Jellicoe and the Grand Fleet off Jutland (31 May). Big ships on either side were sunk with their crews. The losses of the British were certainly not inferior to the Germans. Yet, after a well-fought action, the Germans broke off the battle at dusk, made for safety at home, and never came out again to fight. The fleet which gains or retains the command of the sea has won; for this is its only object, the only way in which it can be of use. For the rest of the war the Germans would have been far better off, had they not had an expensive and, latterly, a mutinous and revolutionary navy, cooped up in river-mouths and harbours.

1917

In 1917 the Allies seemed to be faced with a dreary prospect of further years of war and ruinous drain upon their overburdened populations. The Germans, on their side, saw their people bleeding to death, ailing for want of fats, and faced by enemies with apparently inexhaustible resources, although beaten in many battles. The Austrians were so near starving that Count Czernin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared in a state Minute that they could not endure another winter. The truth is, the Allies and Central Powers were all near to the breaking-point, but the Central Powers, on the whole, were the nearer.

There was one Allied Power, however, which broke first, dissolved as a fighting force, and went out of the War. This was Russia. The Tsarist bureaucracy, never strong, could not, in the face of its mighty failures, command the respect of or even forcibly control a sullen population. In March a Liberal revolution brought about the abdication of the Tsar. The Liberals failed to hold their own, and gave place to a Socialist Government. In November the Socialist Government was upset by the Com-

A Desert Advance in Mesopotamia

Imperial War Museum Photograph. Copyright reserved

munists or Bolsheviks, who at once proclaimed their intention of going out of the ' Capitalist ' War.

In the Italian theatre the Austro-German armies gained a brilliant victory at Caporetto (October), burst the Italian line on a wide front, and nearly reached Venice. French and British troops had to be taken from the line in France, and put into the trenches in Venetia. Serious and widespread mutinies took place in the French army in France. Long drawn-out British attacks at Paschendaele on the Flanders front cost, probably, a hundred thousand heroic lives for a few miles of shell-torn ground. A local success was the capture of Bagdad in Mesopotamia from the Turks by General Maude.

On the other hand there was one accession of strength to the Allies which made ultimate victory practically certain, provided that France and Great Britain could endure the strain of the War into the year 1918. This accession of strength came with the declaration of war on the part of the United States of America against Germany on the 5th April.

The German Government had been involved in friction with the United States since May 1915, when American passengers were sunk with the British passenger liner, *Lusitania*, torpedoed by a German submarine. When this happened Mr. Wilson, President, had warned the German Government of the serious consequences which would ensue if American citizens were disturbed on their lawful passages over the ocean. Although some difficult minor crises ensued after this, the Germans, on the whole, managed not to overstep the limit which Mr. Wilson had defined, until January 1917, when they announced unrestricted submarine warfare against the Allies, and declared that all ships proceeding to the British Isles would be sunk. This mad declaration had the inevitable result—not, as the German Naval Staff expected, that Great Britain would be starved out; but that Mr. Wilson, when a United States merchant-vessel had been sunk, broke off diplomatic relations with Germany and shortly afterwards asked Congress for a declaration of war.

The American effort was not fully displayed until another twelve months had passed, but from the first it relieved the strain

on the Allies in respect of money and munitions, if not of man-power; and from the very start, although the United States Army was not ready in 1917, the United States Navy was. Its immediate and hearty co-operation with the British Navy was of enormous assistance, first of all in controlling the German submarine activity, and ultimately in largely overcoming it.

1918

Nevertheless in the spring of the year 1918 there occurred what appeared to be the greatest of the German victories, the most terrible of the Allies' defeats. This was when, on the 21st March, a portion of the Allies' line which Portuguese and British troops were holding gave way. The territory which four years of patient effort, made at the cost of the lives of millions of men, had won from the Germans, was lost in a day. For nearly three months the fiercest struggle raged, for the Germans kept up the pressure with wonderful impetuosity and endurance; the Allies' line was re-formed, but was always being thrust back, until Amiens, even Paris, were again in danger of capture. From Great Britain the boys in the training-camps who were a year under age for overseas service volunteered to go to the front and gave up their lives. By the end of May the American troops were beginning to be available for reliefs in considerable numbers; and Marshal Foch was thus able to form and use a movable reserve army which could be thrown into the line wherever he felt that the chances were greatest. Since the 14th April the Allies, rendered desperate and for the first time unanimous by the crushing nature of the German successes, had entrusted the task of supreme co-ordination in the western theatre of war to this French general. Maintaining the wavering and receding front with every resource in his power, Foch at last discerned an area where the Germans showed signs of a relaxing of their effort. On the 18th June, like Joffre in September 1914, Foch delivered his great blow, and flung all the available men into the line. Thus began the Second Battle of the Marne, which raged until the 22nd July. The Germans gave way and never recovered themselves. All the Allies' armies turned from defeat to victory; and with a precision which astonished

the world rolled back the German tide. One army-corps after another took up the tale, so that all along the line from Switzerland to the North Sea battles were fought like the strokes of a hammer ; and with every stroke some ten thousand or fifteen thousand German prisoners were taken. It was a beautiful display of strategy and tactics, made with comparatively small loss of life, although down to the last moment, when the ' cease-fire ' sounded on the morning of the 11th November, men were falling on both sides.

The Armistice

The Armistice of the 11th November was asked for by the Germans because their armies were being beaten and driven back towards their own frontiers; because all the other 'Central Powers' —Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey—had already gone out of the War ; and because Germany itself was in revolution.

The first state among the Central Powers to give in had been Bulgaria, which surrendered to General Franchet d'Esperey and the army on the Macedonian Front on the 29th September. King Ferdinand fled to Germany, and left his son Boris to succeed him on the throne.

The next state to collapse was Turkey. An army, consisting of a majority of Indian troops, some British battalions, and a small number of French troops, had, under General Allenby, invaded Palestine. Jerusalem was captured ; finally an entire Turkish army was routed at Megiddo (19 September). Aleppo was captured on the 26th October. The Turkish authorities threw up their hands and accepted the Armistice terms offered at Mudros (30 October).

Austria-Hungary was in no better plight than Turkey. She was already reeling when the Italian armies advanced—a British division being the first actually to cross the Piave—and opened the final action on the Austro-Italian front, called the battle of Vittorio Veneto (24 October). Austria-Hungary dissolved in revolution ; the Habsburgs went into exile ; a republic took their place in Austria, and a ' regency ' in Hungary.

Germany also was experiencing revolution—first a mutiny

among the sailors at Kiel on the 5th November ; next, a regular revolution in Berlin, Munich, Dresden, and other great cities. On the 10th November the Kaiser abandoned his army and escaped into Holland. The German armies held together. Ludendorff, the most energetic (though not the wisest) of the German military leaders, was relieved of his authority, but Field-Marshal Paul von Hindenburg retained presence of mind and control of the beaten armies. There was still at any rate a German Government which could ask for and sign Armistice terms. As there was no certainty that the German Government would be able or willing to carry out voluntary undertakings which it might enter into, the Allies exacted as Armistice terms really surrender terms. By these conditions the Germans had to evacuate all that they had occupied of France and Belgium, to retire behind the Rhine, to deliver the bridges and the bridge-heads of the Rhine to the Allies, and also to give up stated quantities of artillery of all patterns, so that until the final peace should be made there would be not the remotest possibility of the Germans being able to re-start the War.

For months after the signature of the Armistice the political situation in Germany was precarious. A Republic had been declared on the 10th November ; Frederick Ebert, a Social-Democrat and formerly a saddler by trade, who had lost two sons in the War, became the first President. Ebert's sterling qualities, combined with the loyalty of Hindenburg and other Imperialist generals to the new régime, enabled the Republic to triumph over the disorders and risings of the Communists or Spartacists—the champions of ' red revolution ' and ' sovietism '.

The Peace Conference

At the end of the year 1918 delegates from all the Allied countries (except Russia) began to assemble in Paris, to engage on the gigantic task of drafting treaties for a new Europe. No delegates from the Central Powers were admitted until the treaties had been thought out, discussed, and finally drafted by the Allies at Paris ; the completed treaties were then offered to the delega-

tions of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, who were permitted to come in the summer of 1919 to various places near Paris—Versailles, Saint Germain, Neuilly; they were allowed to present written notes on the draft treaties; and ultimately a few minor changes were inserted in the drafts, but nothing of much importance.

By the Treaty of Versailles, 28th June 1919, Germany ceded or retroceded Alsace and Lorraine to France. She also gave up the portions of the former kingdom of Poland, held by Prussia since 1815. These portions, along with the parts which Austria and Russia had likewise held, were combined in the reconstituted Polish state or republic. Danzig was made into a Free City.

Germany acknowledged in article 231 that she was responsible for the damage caused by the War which her action imposed upon the Western states in 1914. As, however, it was recognized that she could not repay the total costs of the War, the Allies imposed upon her the task of simply repaying the cost inflicted by the hostilities upon civilians. The total Reparations bill was not fixed by the Treaty, as the ability of Germany to pay could not be ascertained. It was definitely assessed by the 'Reparations Commission', according to what are called the London Terms of 1921, at £6,600,000,000, payable by annuities over a course of thirty-six years in specified amounts to each of the Allies.

The most striking articles of the Treaty of Versailles were those relating to Disarmament. The preamble to Part V states:

> In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow.

The German army was by article 160 reduced to 100,000 volunteers, engaged for twelve years' service. The German Navy was reduced to 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, and 12 torpedo boats. No submarines and no military aeroplanes were to be kept or made by Germany. The cardinal feature of these Disarmament regulations for Germany was the abolition of conscription, which means the training of the whole male population in arms. The preamble to Part V, already quoted, was intended to oblige the other Contracting Parties besides Germany

to disarm themselves to the same extent and in the same way as they imposed Disarmament upon the Germans.

Perhaps the three outstanding things in the Treaty of Versailles were the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the abolition of German conscription, and the establishing of the League of Nations.

The Covenant of the League of Nations, which embodied the yearnings of all civilized peoples under the age-long scourge of war, was drafted during the Conference of Versailles, and is Part I of all the Peace Treaties of 1919–20. Its immediate authors were President Wilson of the United States, General Smuts of South Africa, Lord Robert Cecil of England, Léon Bourgeois of France. It established a league or society of states, a voluntary union for the purpose of maintaining peace. The League was endowed with a permanent Secretariat at Geneva, with a standing Council (to meet at least once a year), and with an Assembly, or legislature (to meet once a year). All the member-states guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of each other. The Council can be convoked at any moment to hear international disputes that may be referred to it. A Permanent Court of International Justice was later established by the League to hear and decide judicial (as distinct from political) disputes between states. Practically all the civilized states of the world became members of the League except the United States of America, although Mr. Wilson spent the last active months of his life in touring the country in its favour.

The Treaty of Versailles made peace only between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany. Peace with Austria was made by the Treaty of Saint Germain (10 September 1919); with Hungary by the Treaty of the Trianon (4 June 1920); with Bulgaria by the Treaty of Neuilly (24 November 1919). The Final Peace Treaty with Turkey was not made until the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on the 24th July 1923; until this date Constantinople was occupied by Allied forces under the terms of the Armistice of Mudros. The principle on which the territorial changes under these treaties were based was that every race with distinct national consciousness should be joined together as a

united whole. Thus the Italian-speaking parts of the former Austrian empire were united to the Kingdom of Italy. The Rouman-portions (Transylvania) of Hungary were annexed to Roumania (which also took Bessarabia from Russia). The Czecho-Slovaks (chiefly in Bohemia), formerly in the Austrian Empire, had been recognized by the Allies as a state before the War ended. Poland was reconstituted out of Galicia (from Austria), Posen and East Prussia (from Prussia), and 'the Congress Kingdom' (from Russia). Serbia received Dalmatia and Croatia, formerly under Austria, and became the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, or Jugoslavia, to which Montenegro also was added. Denmark received a portion of the Duchy of Schleswig, lost in 1864. The dissolution of the Empire of Russia in 1917 had enabled the Finns, the Esths, the Latvians, and the Lithuanians to assert their independence. In the German Revolution of November 1918 every German dynasty had abdicated. The fall of twenty-six Royal houses (German, Austrian, Russian, Montenegrin, Turkish); the establishing of six new states (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Latvia, Finland); the total reconstitution of five others (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Russia)—these dramatic and fundamental alterations of the political map of Europe show that the War of 1914–18 made as wide a chasm on the old continent as did the European War of 1792–1814. That the New Europe of the century after the Conference of Paris of 1919 will be as stable as the Europe which was remade by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 is surely probable, for in addition to the 'will to peace' which the tragic experiences of any long war engenders, there is the permanent healing influence of the League of Nations.

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1492	Alexander VI (Borgia).
1503	Pius III (Todeschini).
1503	Julius II (della Rovere).
1513	Leo X (de' Medici).
1522	Adrian VI (Adrian of Utrecht).
1523	Clement VII (de' Medici).
1534	Paul III (Farnese).
1550	Julius III (del Monte).
1555	Marcellus II (Cervini).
1555	Paul IV (Caraffa).
1559	Pius IV (de' Medici).
1566	Pius V (Ghislieri).
1572	Gregory XIII (Buoncompagno).
1585	Sixtus V (Peretti).
1590	Urban VII (Castagna).
1590	Gregory XIV (Sfrondati).
1591	Innocent IX (Facchinetti).
1592	ClementVIII (Aldobrandini).
1605	Leo XI (de' Medici).
1605	Paul V (Borghese).
1621	Gregory XV (Ludovisi).
1623	Urban VIII (Barberini).
1644	Innocent X (Pamfili).
1655	Alexander VII (Chigi).
1667	Clement IX (Rospigliosi).
1670	Clement X (Altieri).
1676	Innocent XI (Odescalchi).
1689	Alexander VIII (Ottobuoni)
1691	Innocent XII (Pignatelli).
1700	Clement XI (Albano).
1721	Innocent XIII (Conti).
1724	Benedict XIII (Orsini).
1730	Clement XII (Corsini).
1740	Benedict XIV (Lambertini).
1758	Clement XIII (Rezzonico).
1769	Clement XIV (Ganganelli).
1775	Pius VI (Braschi).
1800	Pius VII (Chiaramonte).
1823	Leo XII (Genga).
1829	Pius VIII (Castiglione).
1831	Gregory XVI (Capellari).
1846	Pius IX (Ferretti).
1878	Leo XIII (Pecci).
1903	Pius X (Sarto).
1914	Benedict XV (della Chiesa).
1922	Pius XI (Ratti).

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1789	George Washington.
1797	John Adams.
1801	Thomas Jefferson.
1809	James Madison.
1817	James Monroe.
1825	John Quincy Adams.
1829	Andrew Jackson.
1837	Martin Van Buren.
1841	William Henry Harrison.
1841	John Tyler.
1845	James Knox Polk.
1849	Zachary Taylor.
1850	Millard Fillmore.
1853	Franklin Pierce.
1857	James Buchanan.
1861	Abraham Lincoln.
1865	Andrew Johnson.
1869	Ulysses Simpson Grant.
1877	Rutherford Birchard Hayes.
1881	James Abram Garfield.
1881	Chester Alan Arthur.
1885	Stephen Grover Cleveland.
1889	Benjamin Harrison.
1893	Stephen Grover Cleveland.
1897	William McKinley.
1901	Theodore Roosevelt.
1909	William Howard Taft.
1913	Woodrow Wilson.
1921	Warren Gamaliel Harding.
1925	Calvin Coolidge.
1929	Herbert Clark Hoover.

PRESIDENTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

1871	Adolphe Thiers.
1873	Maurice de MacMahon.
1879	Jules Grévy.
1887	Sadi Carnot.
1894	Pierre Casimir-Périer.
1895	Félix Faure.
1899	Émile Loubet.
1906	Armand Fallières.
1913	Raymond Poincaré.
1920	Paul Deschanel.
1920	Alexandre Millerand.
1924	Gaston Doumergue.

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE MODERN WORLD

1487. Bartholomew Diaz rounds the Cape of Good Hope
1492. Columbus discovers Hispaniola
Death of Lorenzo de' Medici
1493. Pope Alexander VI arbitrates between the claims of Spain and Portugal to the New World
1494. Charles VIII of France invades Italy
1498. Execution of Savonarola
1499. Louis XII of France invades Italy and conquers Milan and Naples
1500. Cabral discovers Brazil
1504. The French lose Naples
1511. Pope Julius II forms the Holy League against France
1512. Battle of Ravenna. Restoration of the Medici in Florence
1513. Machiavelli composes *Il Principe*
1515. Francis II becomes King of France and invades Italy
Battle of Marignano
1517. Luther nails his ninety-five theses against indulgences to the door of the Wittenberg Hofkirche
1519. Cortes conquers Mexico
Charles V elected Emperor
1520. Luther burns the Papal Bull of Excommunication
1521. Diet of Worms
1522. Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, charged with Government of Austria
1524. Zwingli converts Zürich to his reformed faith
1525. Battle of Pavia
1526. Battle of Panipat establishes the Mogul Empire in India
Battle of Mohacs. Ferdinand becomes King of Hungary
1527. Sack of Rome
Sweden under Gustavus Vasa becomes independent of Denmark
1533. Accession of Tsar Ivan the Terrible
1540. Bull 'Regimini militantis Ecclesiae'
1541. John Calvin reforms Geneva
1545. Opening of Council of Trent
1547. Accession of Henry II
1552. Henry II invades duchy of Lorraine
1555. Religious peace of Augsburg
1556. Abdication of the Emperor Charles V. Austria and the Empire pass to his brother Ferdinand; Spain, Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands to his son Philip II
1559. Accession of Francis II

1559. Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis
1560. Accession of Charles IX
Meeting of the French Estates and the famous speech of Michel l'Hôpital
1562. First French War of Religion
1563. Dissolution of Council of Trent
1565. Revolt in the Netherlands
1567. Second French War of Religion
1568. Third French War of Religion
1572. Massacre of Saint Bartholomew
Fourth French War of Religion
Capture of Brill by the 'Sea Beggars'
Mondragon raises the siege of Goes
1574. Relief of Leyden by the Dutch
Accession of Henry III
1576. Fifth French War of Religion
Formation of the Holy League under the auspices of the Guises
1577. Sixth French War of Religion
1579. The ten Southern Provinces of the Netherlands return to the allegiance of Spain. Treaty of Arras
Union of Utrecht
1580. Philip II conquers Portugal
Seventh French War of Religion
1584. Assassination of William 'the Silent'
Death of Ivan 'the Terrible'
1585. Eighth French War of Religion. 'The war of the three Henries'
1589. Assassination of Henry III
1594. Henry IV 'of Navarre' enters Paris and becomes King of France
1598. Peace of Vervins
Edict of Nantes
Death of Philip II
1605. Publication of *Don Quixote*
1608. Ferdinand IV of the Palatine forms the 'Evangelical Union'
1609. Maximilian 'the Great' of Bavaria forms the 'Catholic League'
'Twelve Years Truce' between Spain and the Netherlands
1610. Henry IV declares war against the 'Catholic League', but is assassinated; accession of Louis XIII, 'the Just'
1612. Accession of the Emperor Matthias
1614. The French Estates are summoned for the last time until 1789
1616. Treaty of Stolbova
1617. Ferdinand of Styria becomes King of Bohemia
1618. 'Defenestration of Prague'
Revolt of the Czechs

1618. The Elector of Brandenburg succeeds to the Duchy of Prussia
Outbreak of the Thirty Years War
1619. Ferdinand of Styria becomes Holy Roman Emperor
Frederick V of the Palatinate accepts the throne of Bohemia from the rebels
Execution of the ' Arminian ' Olden Barneveldt
1620. Battle of Bila Hora (' The white hill '). Expulsion of Frederick from Bohemia
1623. Conquest of the Palatinate by the Catholics
1624. Richelieu becomes Chief Minister of France
1625. Christian IV of Denmark intervenes in the Thirty Years War on behalf of the Protestants
Publication of Grotius' *De Jure Belli et Pacis*
1626. Battle of Lutter
1629. Edict of Restitution
Gustavus Adolphus annexes Lithuania from Poland by the treaty of Altmark
1630. Gustavus Adolphus lands in Germany
1631. Tilly sacks Magdeburg
Battle of Breitenfeld
1632. Battle of Lützen. Death of Gustavus Adolphus
1635. Military intervention of France in Germany
1637. Publication of the *Discourses* of Descartes
1640. Portugal recovers its independence
1642. Death of Richelieu. Mazarin succeeds him
1643. Accession of Louis XIV
Conquest of China by the Manchurian Tartars
1648. Peace of Westphalia
Beginnings of the ' Fronde '
Treaty of Münster between Spain and Holland
1650. Death of William II of Orange
1651. English Navigation Act
1653. Collapse of the Fronde
Pope Innocent X condemns the principal tenets of the Jansenists
1659. ' Peace of the Pyrenees '
1660. Death of Charles X of Sweden
Treaty of Oliva
Suspension of the Port-Royalists
1661. Death of Mazarin. Louis XIV assumes the reins of government
1662. Death of Pascal
1667. Louis XIV attacks the Spanish Netherlands
1668. Triple alliance of England, Sweden, and Holland
1669. Grimmelshausen publishes *Simplicius Simplicissimus*
1670. Treaty of Dover
1672. Louis XIV attacks the Dutch

1672. First Grand Alliance of the Hague
Massacre of John and Cornelius de Witt. William III of Orange becomes Stadtholder
1675. The Great Elector defeats the Swedes at Fehrbellin
1678. Treaty of Nymwegen
1681. Louis XIV seizes Strasbourg
1683. Siege of Vienna by the Turks ; siege raised by the Polish king John Sobieski
1684. Holy League between the Papacy, Venice, Poland, and the Empire
1686. The League of Augsburg
1688. Expulsion of James II of England. Accession of William of Orange
Death of the Great Elector
1690. Defeat of Anglo-Dutch Fleet by the French off Beachy Head.
1692. Defeat of French Fleet by the British off La Hogue. End of French naval ascendancy
1697. Charles XII becomes King of Sweden
Peter the Great works as an apprentice in the East India Company docks
Treaty of Ryswick
1699. Peace of Carlowitz
1700. Death of Charles II of Spain
Charles XII crushes Denmark and defeats Peter the Great at Narva
1701. Outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession
Leopold II creates Frederick of Brandenburg King of Prussia
1704. Battle of Blenheim
British capture Gibraltar
1706. Battle of Ramillies
Charles XII invades Saxony
Augustus of Poland abdicates in favour of Stanislaus Leszczynski
1707. Final suppression of Port-Royal
Vauban writes the *Dîme royale*
1708. Battle of Oudenarde
Charles XII invades Russia
1709. Battle of Malplaquet
Siege of Pultava by the Swedes
Charles XII is defeated and flies to Bessarabia
1711. Treaty of the Pruth
1713. Treaty of Utrecht
Frederick William I succeeds to Prussia
Philip V becomes King of Spain
1714. Treaty of Rastadt. Return of Charles XII to Sweden
1715. Louis XV succeeds to the French Crown
Death of Fénelon

1718. Charles XII while invading Denmark is shot dead at Frederikshall
Peace of Passarowitz
Spain occupies Sardinia and Sicily. Battle of Cape Passaro
1720. Emperor Charles VI establishes the Pragmatic Sanction
1721. Peace of Nystadt
Publication of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*
1723. Death of Regent Orléans
1725. Death of Peter the Great
Treaty of Kiatka
Ripperda endeavours to recover Gibraltar
1727. End of Anglo-Spanish war. Dismissal of Ripperda
1730. Accession of Tsarina Anna
1733. Death of Augustus the Strong of Poland. War of Polish Succession
Family Compact between France and Spain
1735. Austrians driven out of Naples by Spain
1736. Francis of Lorraine marries Maria Theresa
1737. Russia and Austria make war on Turkey
1740. Frederick II, the Great, becomes King of Prussia
Death of the Emperor Charles VI. Frederick invades Silesia
Outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession
1741. Accession of Tsarina Elizabeth
1743. Battle of Dettingen
1745. Battle of Fontenoy
1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle
Publication of Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des Lois*
1750. Kaunitz goes to Paris as Imperial Ambassador and brings about 'The Diplomatic Revolution'
1756. Convention of Westminster between England and Prussia
Habsburg-Bourbon alliance
Frederick invades Saxony. Outbreak of the Seven Years War
1757. Battle of Plassey
Tsarina Elizabeth invades Prussia. Battle of Rossbach (Prussians *v.* French)
1758. Turks invade Russia
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1759. Battles of Lagos and Quiberon Bay. Capture of Quebec
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1760. Capture of Montreal
Battle of Wandewash
Battle of Liegnitz
Capture of Berlin by Russians
1762. Spain intervenes in the Seven Years War on the side of France
Accession and murder of Tsar Peter III. Accession of Catherine II

1763. Peace of Paris
Peace of Hubertusburg
1764. Expulsion of Jesuits from France
1766. Death of Stanislaus Leszczynski, father-in-law of Louis XV, Duke of Lorraine and sometime King of Poland. Incorporation of Lorraine in France
1767. Expulsion of Jesuits from Spain
1768. War between Russia and Turkey
1771. Gustavus III succeeds to Swedish Throne
1772. First Partition of Poland
1773. Pope Clement XIV dissolves the Society of Jesus
1774. Accession of Louis XVI
Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainarji
1775. Revolt of the Thirteen Colonies
Oregon discovered by Captain Cook
1777. Death of Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria
1778. The Emperor Joseph II occupies Bavaria
Frederick the Great invades Bohemia
1779. Peace of Teschen
1783. Peace of Versailles
Catherine II annexes the Crimea
1785. Frederick the Great forms the Fürstenbund to maintain the existing territorial system of the Empire
1786. Death of Frederick the Great
1787. Constitution of the U.S.A.
1789. Convention of the French Estates. Destruction of the Bastille
1790. Death of Joseph II
1791. Death of Mirabeau. Constitution of 1791
1792. Sack of the Tuileries
Girondins declare war on Austria
English mission to Pekin
1793. Second Partition of Poland
Executions of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette
Appointment of the Committee of Public Safety
1794. French conquer Belgium
1795. Third Partition of Poland
Treaty of Bâle
Constitution of the year III
French conquer Holland
1796. Death of Catherine II
1797. Peace of Campo Formio
Establishing of Cisalpine Republic
1798. Bonaparte sent to Egypt
Battle of the Nile
1799. Siege of Acre
Bonaparte returns to France and is made First Consul ('Brumaire')

1800. Marengo
1801. Concordat of France and Papacy
Treaty of Lunéville
1802. Treaty of Amiens
1804. Napoleon declared Emperor
Unsuccessful rising of Kara George in Serbia
1805. Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz
Treaty of Pressburg
1806. Battle of Jena. Extinction of Holy Roman Empire
Berlin Decrees
1807. Treaty of Tilsit
Creation of Duchy of Warsaw
Milan decrees
1808. Peninsular War begins
Slaves cease to be imported into U.S.A.
1809. Treaty of Schönbrunn
Rebellion of Spanish South American colonies
1810. Bernadotte is adopted as successor of Charles XIII of Sweden
Hidalgo raises the standard of revolt in Mexico
1812. Moscow Expedition
British-American war
Liberal constitution granted in Spain (' Constitution of 1812 ')
1813. Battle of Leipzig
1814. Abdication of Napoleon. Is exiled to Elba
First Peace of Paris
Congress of Vienna
1815. ' The Hundred Days.' Waterloo. Napoleon is banished to St. Helena
Second Peace of Paris
Formation of the Germanic Confederation, the Holy Alliance, and the Quadruple Alliance
Revolt of Milosh Obrenovitch
1817. Murder of Kara George
San Martin's victory at Chacabuco
1818. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle
Convention of London
1819. Conference of Carlsbad
Bolivar's victory at Boyaca
1820. Congress of Troppau
1821. Death of Napoleon
Greek Rebellion
Independence of Mexico, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Nicaragua
1822. Congress at Verona
Dom Pedro declares himself Emperor of Brazil
Iturbide proclaims himself Emperor of Mexico
1823. French invasion of Spain

1823. Enunciation of the Monroe doctrine
1824. Victory of Sucré at Ayacucho
1825. Death of Tsar Alexander I
British Government recognizes the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies
Santa Anna proclaims Mexico a republic
1827. Battle of Navarino
1829. Treaty of Adrianople. Independence of Greece
1830. Expulsion of Charles X from France (' Revolution of July '). Election of Louis-Philippe
1832. Battle of Konia
1833. Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi
Victory of Napier over the Miguelites of Spain off Cape St. Vincent
1834. Prince Otto of Bavaria appointed to the Greek Throne
1836. Foundation of ' The League of the Just '
1839. Battle of Nesib
Abdication of Milosh Obrenovitch of Serbia
1841. Convention of the Straits, or Treaty of London
1842. Treaty of Nanking ends Anglo-Chinese War
1846. Spanish marriages result in rupture of *entente* between England and France
Treaty of Washington
1847. Foundation of the Communist League. The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx
Mexicans driven out of Texas and California by General Scott
1848. Treaty of Guadaloupe-Hidalgo
Constitutional Proclamation of Christian VII of Denmark
Revolution in France. Expulsion of Louis-Philippe. Louis-Napoleon becomes President
Revolutionary movements in Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Italy
Frankfort Parliament
1849. Frederick William IV of Prussia refuses the German Crown at the hands of the Frankfort Parliament
Battles of Custozza and Novara. Abdication of Carlo Alberto of Sardinia. Accession of Victor Emanuel
1850. The Dreikönigsbündnis
Agreement of Olmütz between Prussia and Austria
1851. *Coup d'état* of Napoleon III
1852. Treaty of London. Integrity of the Danish Territories guaranteed
1853. The Tsar Nicholas I invades Moldavia and Wallachia. Outbreak of the Crimean War
Commodore Perry steams into Yedo Bay
1854. Capture of Sevastopol
Completion of the German Zollverein

1855. Treaty of Paris
1857. Dred Scott Case
Second Anglo-Chinese war
1859. War of Italian Liberation. Magenta, Solferino. Treaty of Villafranca
Milosh Obrenovitch becomes Prince of Serbia
Wallachia and Moldavia elect Colonel Couza as Hospodar
Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily and Naples
1860. Michael Miloshovitch becomes Prince of Serbia
Abraham Lincoln elected President of the U.S.A.
1861. Serfdom abolished in Russia
Victor Emanuel becomes 'King of Italy'
Outbreak of the American Civil War
1862. Great Exhibition of London
Capture of New Orleans by the Union
Bismarck becomes Minister-President of Prussia
Abdication of King Otto of Greece. Accession of Prince George of Glücksburg
1863. Suppression of Polish Insurrection
Battle of Gettysburg
1864. 'First International'
Geneva Convention
War of Schleswig-Holstein and Treaty of Vienna
Convention of Gastein
Archduke Maximilian of Austria becomes Emperor of Mexico
1865. End of American Civil War
1866. Austro-Prussian War. Sadowa. Treaty of Prague. Dissolution of German Confederation
Treaty of Paris
Couza exiled from Rumania. Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen becomes ruler
1867. Paris Exhibition. Offenbach's *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*
Establishment of Second Mexican Republic
1868. Queen Isabella of Spain exiled
Last Shogun of Japan resigns
1869. Bakhunin joins the International
1870. Franco-Prussian War
1871. Treaty of Versailles. Peace of Frankfort
William is proclaimed German Kaiser in the Galerie des Glaces, Versailles
1872. Milan of Serbia becomes king
1873. Last Congress of the 'First International'
1875. Establishment of the Constitution of the Third Republic in France
Revolt in Herzegovina
1876. 'Bulgarian atrocities'

1877. Russo-Turkish War
1878. Treaty of San Stefano
Congress of Berlin. Recognition of Bulgaria; Austria is allowed to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina
Japan ' becomes a Western Power '
1879. Dual Alliance of Austria and Germany
1881. Assassination of Tsar Alexander I
Turks cede Thessaly to Greece
1882. Triple Alliance of Austria, Germany, and Italy
1888. Frederick III becomes Kaiser, and dies. Accession of William II
1889. Establishment of Brazilian Republic
Japanese Constitution proclaimed
Attempted *coup d'état* of Boulanger
1890. Fall of Bismarck
1894. Korean War
' L'Affaire Dreyfus '
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1895. Treaty of Shimonoseki
1898. Spanish-American War
Tsar Nicholas proposes an International Conference on Disarmament
1899. First Hague Conference
South African War
1900. Boxer rising in China
1902. British-Japanese Alliance
1903. King Alexander and Queen Draga of Serbia assassinated
Peter Karageorgevitch becomes King of Serbia
1904. Russo-Japanese War breaks out
' Entente Cordiale ' between England and France
1905. Capture of Port Arthur
1907. Establishment of the Russian Duma
Russia joins the ' Entente Cordiale '
1908. Second Hague Conference. Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria
1910. Portuguese Revolution
1911. Mexican Revolution
1912. Chinese Revolution
Italy annexes Tripoli
First Balkan War
1913. Assassination of King George of Greece
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1914. The Murders at Serajevo
Outbreak of the Great War

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3 The Habsburgs
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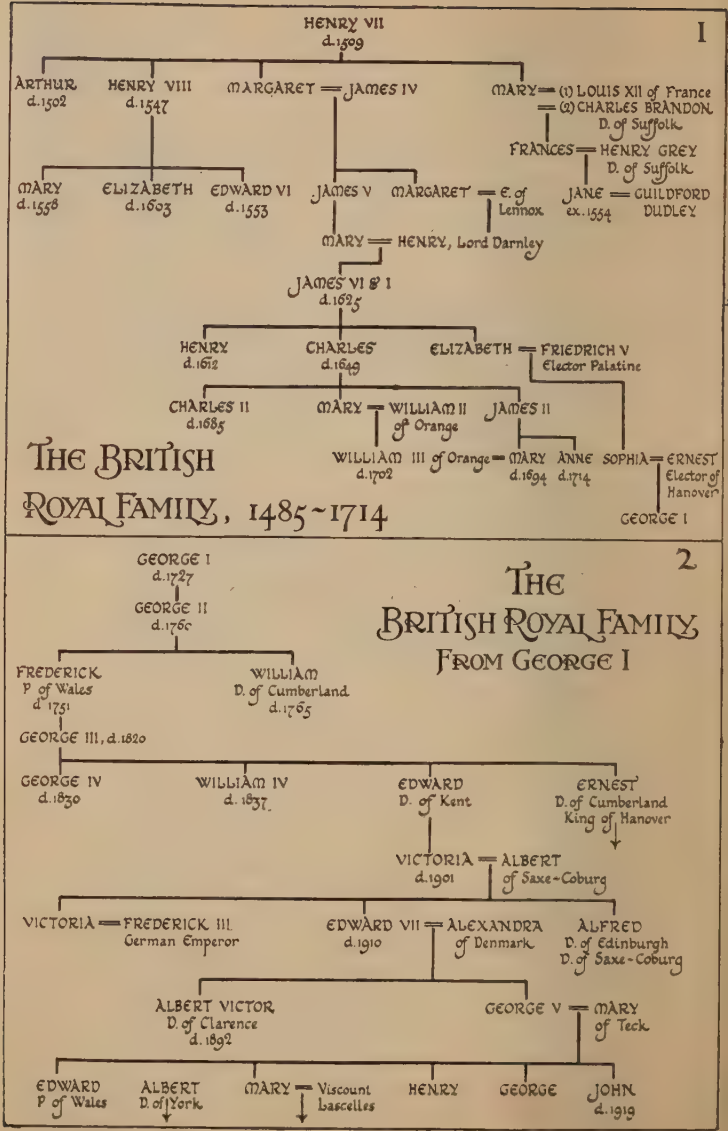
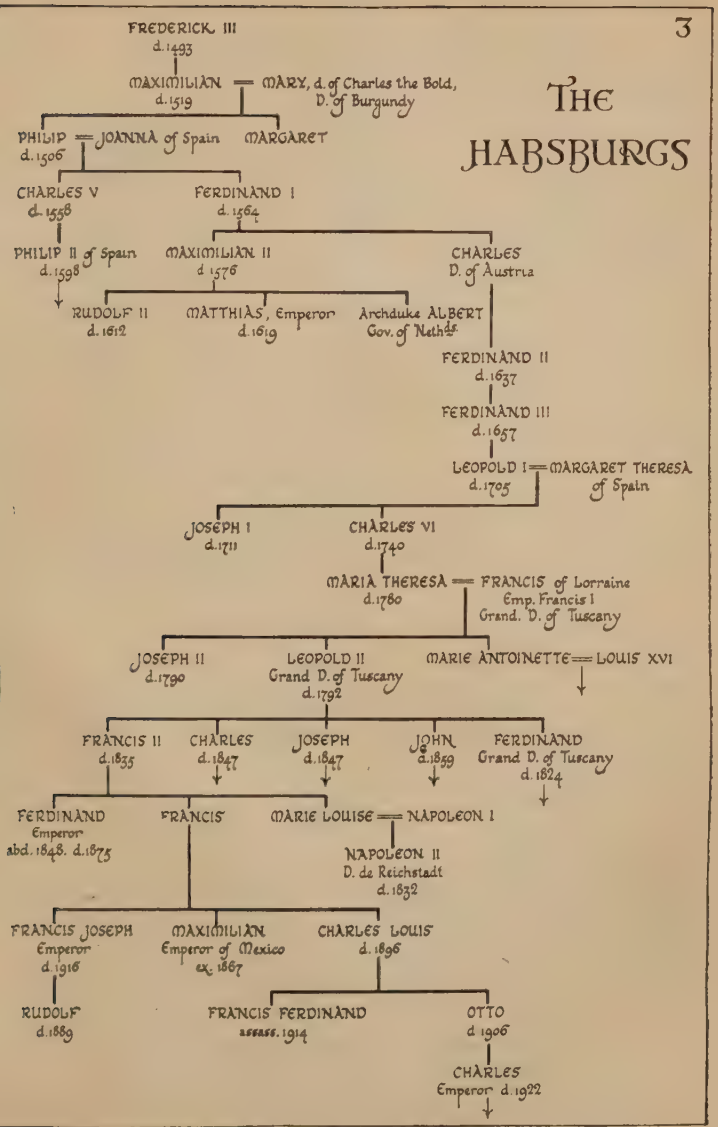
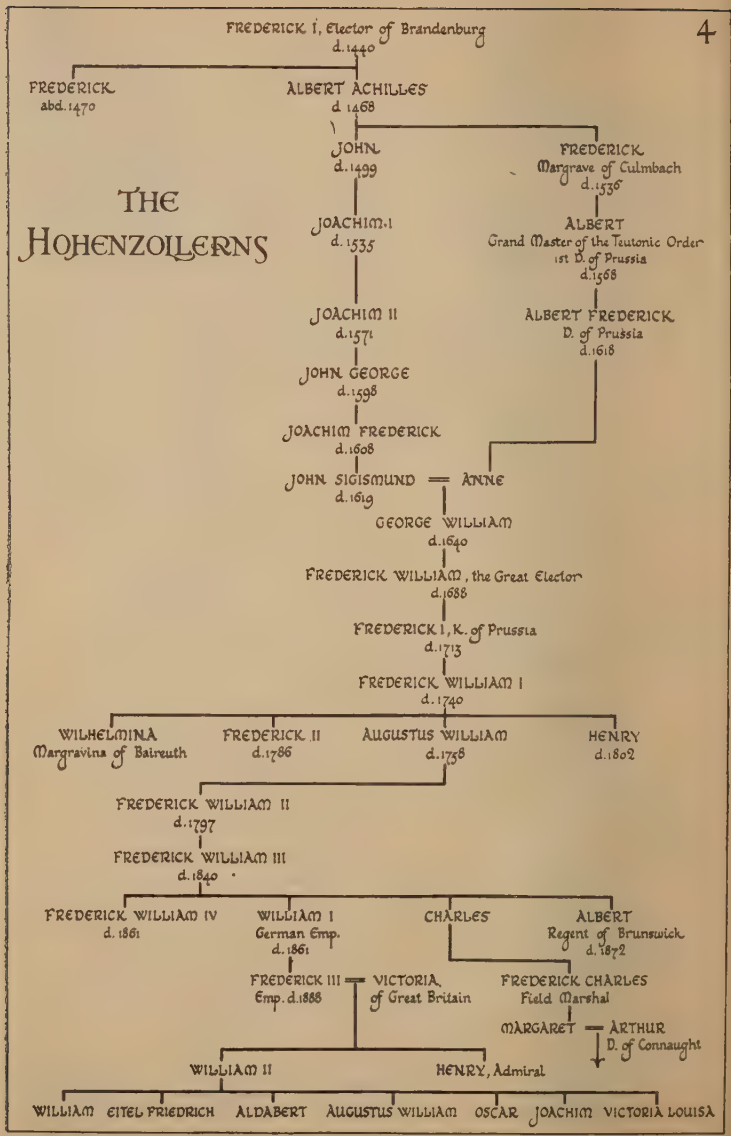
7 Family of Savoy - Sardinia & Italy
8 Spain - Habsburg Line
9 Spain - Bourbon Line


1
HENRY VII
d.1509
ARTHUR
d.1502
HENRY VIII
d.1547
MARGARET
JAMES IV
MARY
(1) LOUIS XII of France
(2) CHARLES BRANDON
D. of Suffolk
FRANCES
HENRY GREY
D. of Suffolk
MARY
d.1558
ELIZABETH
d.1603
EDWARD VI
d.1553
JAMES V
MARGARET
E. of Lennox
JANE
ex.1554
GUILDFORD DUDLEY
MARY
HENRY, Lord Darnley
JAMES VI & I
d.1625
HENRY
d.1612
CHARLES
d.1649
ELIZABETH
FRIEDRICH V
Elector Palatine
CHARLES II
d.1685
MARY
WILLIAM II of Orange
JAMES II
WILLIAM III of Orange
d.1702
MARY
d.1694
ANNE
d.1714
SOPHIA
ERNEST
Elector of Hanover
GEORGE I
THE BRITISH ROYAL FAMILY, 1485-1714
2
GEORGE I
d.1727
GEORGE II
d.1760
FREDERICK
P of Wales
d.1751
WILLIAM
D. of Cumberland
d.1765
GEORGE III, d.1820
GEORGE IV
d.1830
WILLIAM IV
d.1837
EDWARD
D. of Kent
ERNEST
D. of Cumberland
King of Hanover
VICTORIA
d.1901
ALBERT
of Saxe-Coburg
VICTORIA
FREDERICK III
German Emperor
EDWARD VII
d.1910
ALEXANDRA
of Denmark
ALFRED
D. of Edinburgh
D. of Saxe-Coburg
ALBERT VICTOR
D. of Clarence
d.1892
GEORGE V
MARY
of Teck
EDWARD
P of Wales
ALBERT
D. of York
MARY
Viscount Lascelles
HENRY
GEORGE
JOHN
d.1919
THE BRITISH ROYAL FAMILY FROM GEORGE I

THE HABSBURGS



THE HOHENZOLLERNS



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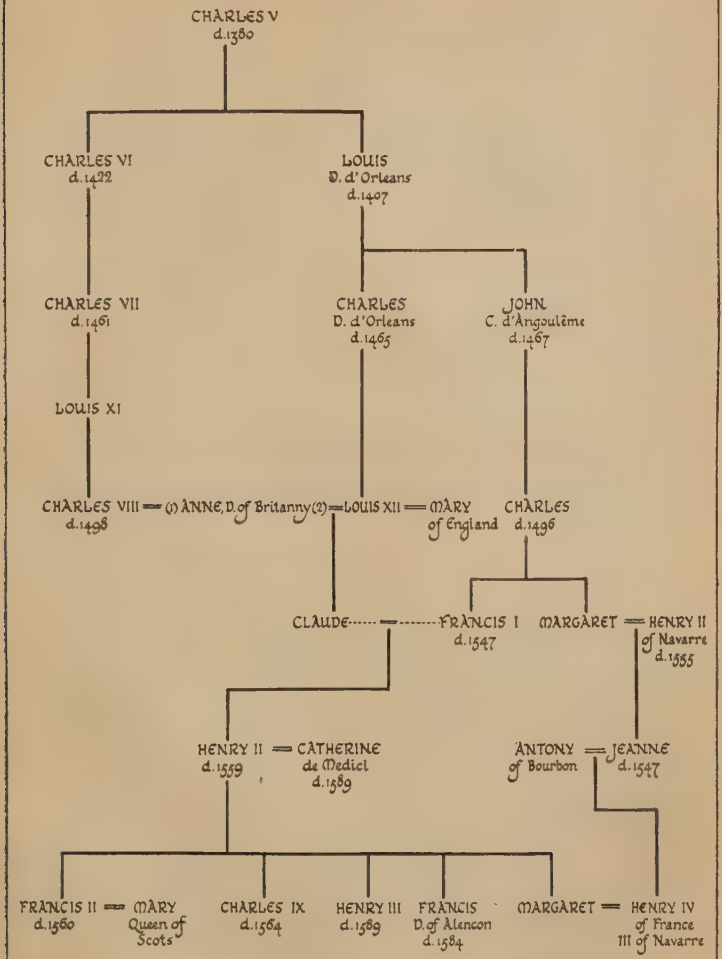
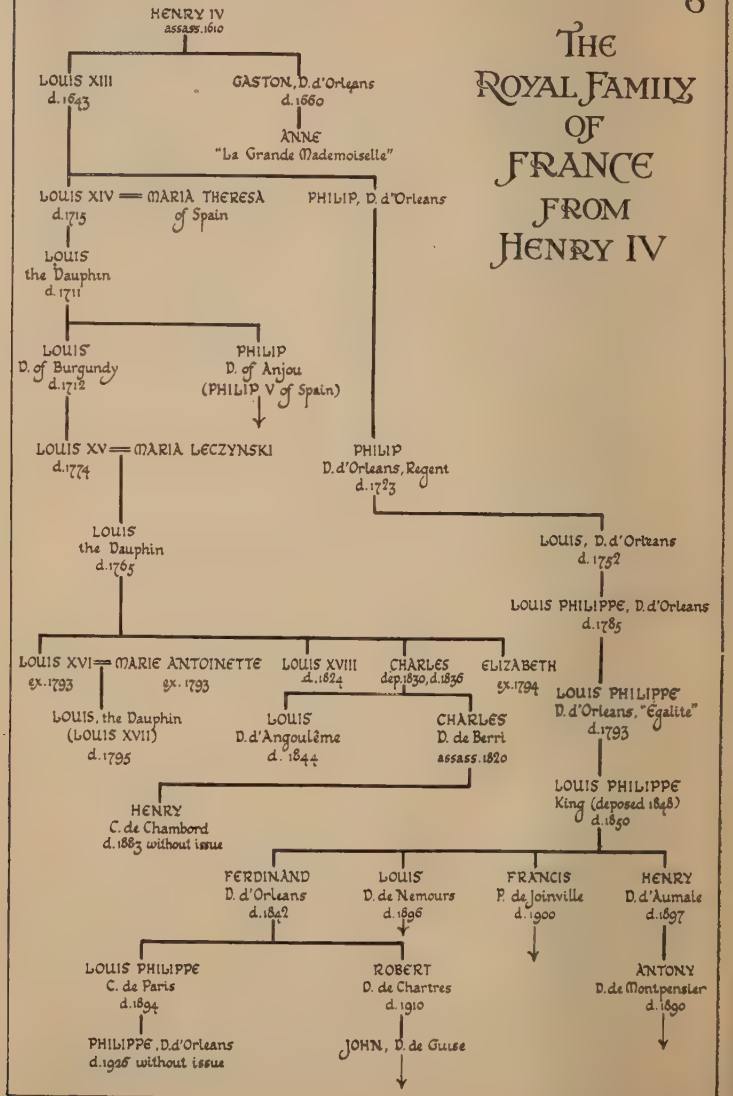


The Royal Family of France from Charles V to Henry IV

6

THE ROYAL FAMILY OF FRANCE FROM HENRY IV



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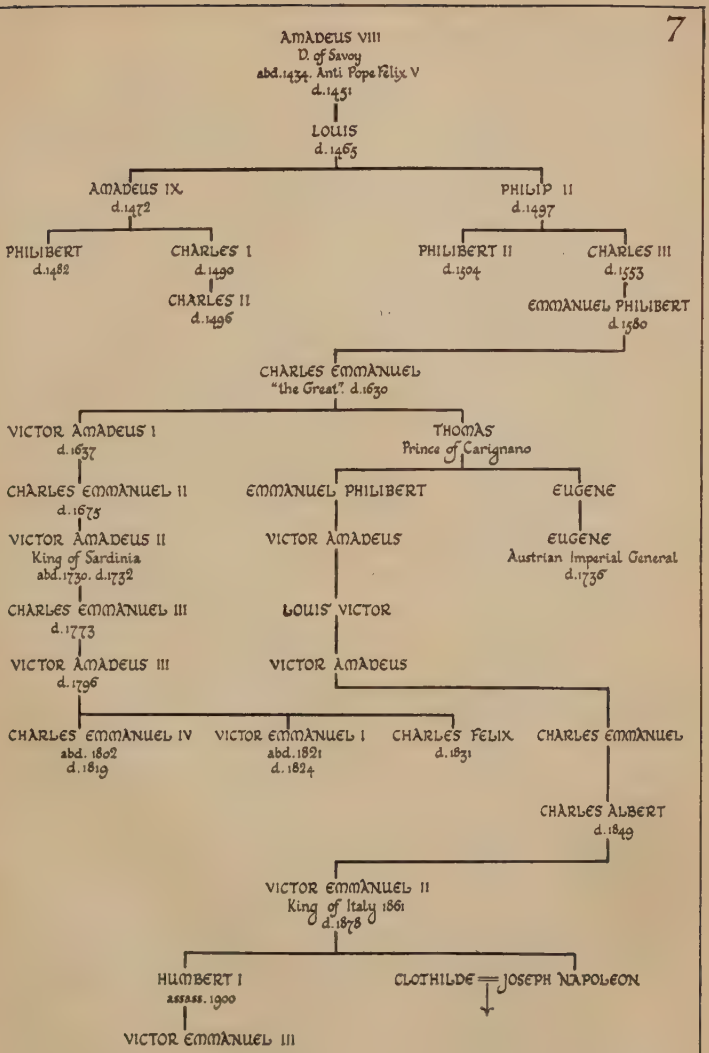
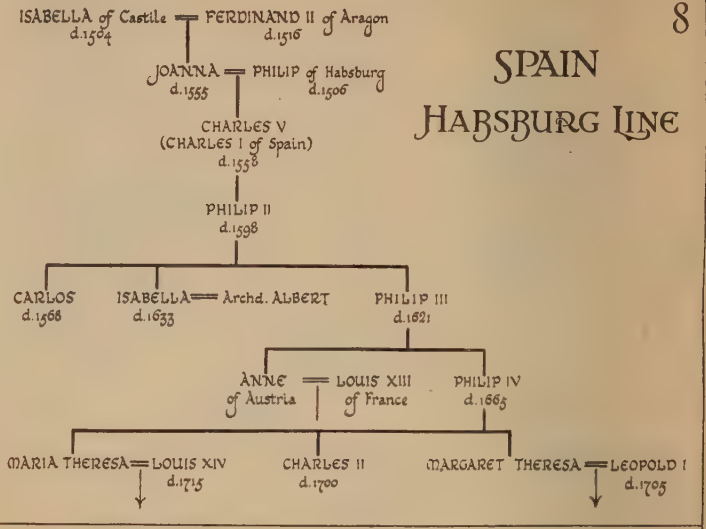


FAMILY OF SAVOY ~ SARDINIA & ITALY

8

SPAIN
HABSBURG LINE



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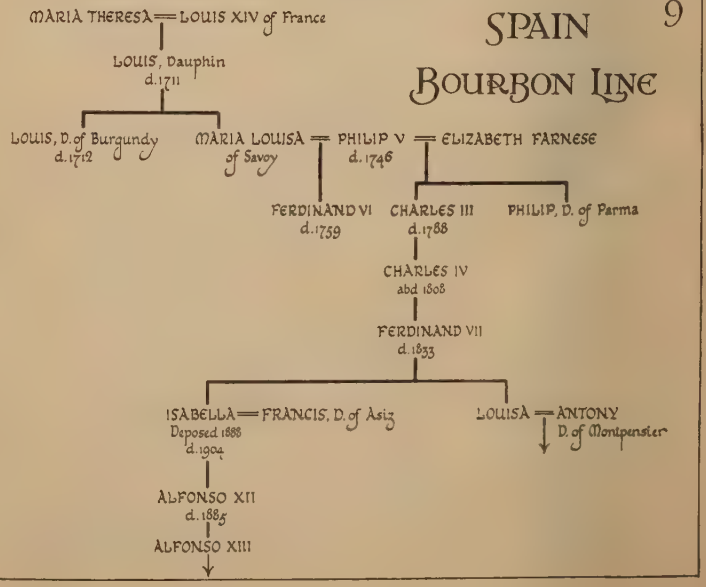
SPAIN
BOURBON LINE



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